CORPUS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF JAVA

(CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM JAVANICARUM)

(up to 928 A.D.)

Vol. I

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FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY
Calcutta : : 1971

Published by
Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay,
6/1A, Dhiren Dhar Sarani
Calcutta-12

CN
1230
.I5527
V. 1

Ist Edition, 1971
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Printed by
B. K. Majumdar, B. Sc.,
Natun Press,
9/2/3 Harsi Street,
Calcutta

To
the sacred memory of
Prof. N. J. Krom
is this humble
work respectfully
dedicated in token of
profound esteem and gratefulness

Abbreviations

Lijst= H.H. Juynboll, Oud-Javaansche en Nederlandsche Woordenlijst.

NBG (Notulen)= Notulen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschaap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

OJO= Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden. Nagelaten Transcripties van wijlen Dr.J.L.A.Brandes. Uitgegeven door Dr. N.J.Krom, VBG, Vol. LX, 1913.

Nāg= Nāgarakṛtāgama (ed. by Pigeaud under the title : Java in the fourteenth century).

NBG (Notulen) = Notulen van de algemeene en bestuurs vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

OV = Oudheidkundig Verslag.

Rapp = Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandch Indie.

TBG = Tijdschrift van Indische Taal, Land en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

VBG = Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

VG = Kern, Verspreide Geschriften.

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INTRODUCTION

So little is known of the technical terms and other peculiarities in the language of the Old-Javanese inscriptions that the undertaking of a *Corpus*, furnished with introduction, translation and notes, is bound to be somewhat of the nature of an adventure. The want of an Old-Javanese grammar of the type of Pāṇini's and non-acquaintance with the exact connotation of a large number of words in the Old-Javanese vocabulary have created hurdles in the path of the research workers. The meaning of Old-Javanese words, as set forth in the standard dictionaries, is not always dependable and a translator cannot hope for anything further than a substantially faithful rendering of the text. In spite of our best effort, obscurities in some passages could not be wholly removed, because, the construction of these passages was such that more than one translation could reasonably be offered for the same passage. Fortunately such cases are not many and the attention of the readers has been invited to these difficulties in appropriate places. The Old-Javanese language is non-inflectional and the verbal system is less subject to changes than in Sanskrit. While there are certain advantages in these phenomena, these have also tended to make the language difficult to comprehend in some of its aspects. Except from the context, one does not always know where one line begins and the other ends and where one word (specially personal and geographical names) terminates and the other begins. Under these circumstances, a translator is occasionally thrown into uncertainty and confusion. The valuable work of earlier research workers has however served as a beacon-light and some of them have considerably enlarged and clarified our conception of the Old-Javanese inscriptions. Unfortunately, the work of such scholars is scattered through various technical journals and works, the majority of which are written in the Dutch language, which is hardly understood outside Holland. It was therefore thought desirable to coordinate the results of these researches and bring them under the purview of one *Corpus*. A number of these Old-Javanese inscriptions have been translated by the present author for the first time; I believe this will offer to a

larger body of students of history ampler access to the original sources for the study of Old-Javanese history and culture. I have tried to make the English translation as literal as possible, but the genius of the English language being different from that of the Old-Javanese language, the construction of the original text could not always be reflected in English.

The present work was undertaken in 1934, when I was working at the University of Dacca and the first draft of the work was completed before the outbreak of the Second World War. The impact of the World War and the emergence of the two sovereign states out of Pre-war India created unforeseen problems for research scholars which could not be easily overcome. I took up the thread of my work again in 1949, but it was interrupted now and again on account of my heavy administrative and other duties which made a considerable inroad upon my time. The work has now been revised and brought up-to-date and perhaps some new grounds have been broken through here and there. I hope now that the present work will substantially represent the accepted conclusions of up-to-date scholarship on the subject and bring to the notice of the English-knowing world wealth of materials hitherto confined, in the main, to Old-Javanese and Dutch works.

The present work incorporates all the published dated inscriptions (Sanskrit and Old-Javanese) of Java up to 928 A. D., the only exception being no. I and II which have been inserted due to their being the earliest ones. Where the reading of dates has appeared to me to be controversial, I have usually preferred the reading of Prof. Damais who has devoted considerable attention to the subject and has tested the dates anew from astronomical point of view. This revised reading has been indicated in the body of the text or in footnotes, and the chronology of Old-Javanese charters, as incorporated in this volume, has been drawn up accordingly. The text of these records has been published in the *OJO*, *KO* and heterogenous Dutch journals of Holland and Java. Where the plates or facsimiles have been available, I have tested anew the reading of previous editors with the help of these and have set down my own reading, indicating my divergences, if any, from the previous editors in the footnotes of the *Corpus*. Doubtful readings of the text

have been put in *italics* and occasionally indicated in the footnotes. The blank space in the text indicates lacunae. Corrupt Sanskrit words of the inscriptions have usually been restored to their normal forms in the footnotes. A chronological study of these Sanskrit words throws light on the pronunciation of Skt. words at various epochs of Javanese history.

Regarding transliteration of Sanskrit and Old-Javanese words and diacritical marks, it may be observed that I have usually followed the method of transliteration adopted by the older school of Dutch scholars like Brandes and Krom. I thought that I might profitably follow de Casparis in his *Prasasti Indonesia* or Pigeaud in his *Java in the Fourteenth Century* in regard to transliteration of the records of Java, but I gave up the attempt when familiar words like *linga* took the unusual shape of *liṅa*. Indeed the older method had at least this advantage that the words could be recognised and read easily even by the average intelligent reader. Dutch Scholars have usually written *w* in the place of *v*; in the preparation of the present volume I have preferred the latter. As the diacritical marks used by the older school of Dutch scholars and epigraphists in our country are, broadly speaking, identical, no special comments thereon are necessary. I should also like to add that I have occasionally used the older name Batavia Museum, (Or: Jakarta Museum) which name, after independence, has been changed to Lembaga Kebudajaan Indonesia.

It is obvious that the data of these inscriptions need a fuller treatment than I can afford at present. I intend to bring out, in future, one or more companion-volumes dealing with all aspects of the historical and cultural life of the people of Central Java on the basis of contemporary evidence, as deduced from inscriptions and other archaeological data, together with such supplementary information as may be culled from other contemporary sources. Some preliminary observations regarding the broad outline of the picture can however be fruitfully made at this stage.

Inscriptions: The inscriptions do not yield sufficient data for the reconstruction of the political, social and religious life of Central

Java from C.650 A. D. to 928 A. D., but they, supplemented by Archaeological evidence from Central Java and light thrown by Chinese annalists, Arab geographers and others offer us precious glimpse into the history and culture of Central Java f om the middle of the seventh Century to the beginning of the tenthCentury A. D., from an unimpeachchable source. These inscriptions were incised on stone, copper and perhaps on lontar-leaves (*cf.* 40. B. 12). Sometimes the charters themselves mention that these are incised *ring liṅgopala* (on stone-pillar) or are designated *tāmraprašasti* (copper-plate record). A couple of inscriptions call themselves *jayapatra* or document of legal judgment or winning sheet (73 and 90. 2). The term seems however to have been used in a broader sense to signify edicts in general. Some others describe themselves as *praśasti*. In later times, such royal edicts were worshipped. However, it is interesting to note in this connexion that sometimes a "Copper-plate" record has been copied on stone, the word *"tinulad* i.e. copied being written below, but this mercy has not always been shown to the investigator, because one ninth-century inscription (no.59), for instance, was copied in the 15th-century script. Sometimes, an inscription seems to have been reconstructed to meet certain unforeseen contingencies, if not from evil motive. A classical example is provided by the copper plates of Kuṭi (Jaba), 762 Śaka (no.12), which was subjected to scathing criticism by Brandes in his edition of the *Pararaton*[2] pp. 112 ff., although some scholars still believe that the record reverts to an authentic original. Sometimes an older charter has been inserted before a new charter, when — it seems — the promulgation of the latter affected the former. These are some of the types of materials which have been discussed here. As the inscriptions are principally land-gifts for the foundation of religious endowments, the materials they yield for the study of the history and culture of the gifted old-Javanese people are invaluable, specially as they do not indulge in flamboyant and exaggerated eulogy of many ancient Indian inscriptions. Here the problem is not one of exaggeration but of excessive abbreviation.

I do not propose, at present, to discuss the palaeography of the Javanese inscriptions in greater details. Special palaeographical features in any Old-Javanese charter, if there be any, have been briefly noticed

in the introductory portion of the text. I hope now that the cooperation of the Archaeological Department of the Government of Indonesia will enable the scholarly world to study all the facsimiles of the inscriptions of Java, at least up to 928 A. D., to make a fuller treatment of the subject. The broad outline regarding the art of writing in Java up to 928 A. D. is tolerably clear and scholars are generally agreed that the earliest charters of Java, those of the West and the East, are in Pallava-Grantha character. It is however difficult to state if the Pre-Sañjaya charters of Central Java are to be considered as evolved from the script of Western Java or else are to be viewed as originating from fre h impact of the "Middle-Grantha" of Southern India with attendant local variations. The Pre-nāgarī inscriptions of certain places of Sumatra and Central Java introduce us to an entirely new type of writing introduced from Eastern India which does not however appear to have ma'e any impact on the evolution of the Old-Javanese script. The Old-Jav. script of Central Java, so far as we can see at present, seems to have evolved out of the palaeography embodied in the Pallava-Grantha scripts of (Western and) Central Java.

Linguistic Peculiarities : Inscriptions under review reveal some interesting linguistic peculiarities which call for some attention. One of these is the doubling of consonants like g, h, k, m, n, p, r, t, among others, before vowels. One may refer in this connexion to the use of words like samaggat (73), susuḥhan (80. 11), tguḥhan (81.6), paranakkan (65.B.4 ; 80.1), māgamman (61.3), paḍammapuy (80.10), pinakakuannakan (21.2), mahyunnan (82.17), kahurippan (80.16), balarran (80.9), hulu vuattan (45), vuattan (80.1), etc. It is noteworthy that in most of these cases, the final consonant of the base has been doubled when it has been followed by the suffix *an*. It may be due to the shifting of the accent from the first syllable to the second syllable of the base word after the suffix *an* has been added, but we connot be sure of it. We also find that the consonant following r has occasionally been doubled (16. 15), as in Skt., but the practiec, has not been uniformly followed, because in l. 31 of the same inscription the word has again been spelt as : parvuvus. The data are not perhaps sufficient to enunciate a general rule regarding this phenomenon. The illustrations have been picked up at random and the instances can be considerably

multiplied. The doubling of consonants has also occurred when a subsequent word beginning with a consonant has been joined to the preceding one. We find, for example, in 70. A. 5, buatthaji, where *t* has been doubled before *h*, although it may be urged here that the *ha* here has the same force as *a* (haji-aji). Is this due to the influence of oral speech? The use of *ha* in Old-Javanese inscriptions indicates that sometimes the initial *ha* could be eliminated, as for instance, in 80. 30, where one comes across, *dyan* in stead of *hadyan*. Again, the name of *Pu* Havang Glis (no. 11 in ll. 5-6) is written in line 17 of the same inscription as *Pu* Vang Glis. The elision of *ha* or its pronunciation as *a* is not therfore an unusual phenomenon in Old-Javanese inscriptions. The study of the letter *ha* in Old-Javanese inscriptions reveals another interesting phenomenon. It is found that sometimes *ha* has been replaced by *Ka* or *Kha*, e. g. Haměas appears as Khamēhas in 80. 14, Hino as Khino in 80. 27, Halu Varak as Khalu varak in 89. b. 6 etc. The substitution of *a* for *va* is also occasionally met with in the Old-Javanese charters, e.g. *soang* for *sovang* in 72. 1. 15. These are not to be treated as isolated instances. These examples do not, of course, exhaust the broad linguistic peculiarities of the Old-Javanese inscriptions. Indeed, it sometimes appears that in oral speech or pronunciation of words, *ñj*, *ṇḍ* and *ṅg* have sometimes been interchanged. For instance, we find Kayu pañjang in no. 70. A. 3, whereas Kayu paṇḍa(ng) occurs in no. 71. 11. The place-names are identical, bacause the latter inscription is virtually a copy of the former. The words *malaṇḍang* and *malañjang* seem also to belong to the same category. Sometimes *ñj* and *j* have been interchanged or indifferently used e.g. Vatu tañjēm for Vatu tajēm in 91. 11. Again, in 64. 13 and 15, we find paṇḍamuan and pangramuan, which — if the reading be correct — indicate the interchangeability of *ṇḍa* and *ngra*. *Ḍa* without combination with any other letter is found to be the equivalent to *ra* in Old-Jav. inscriptions. If the same dictum be applied here, can *ṇ* be *ng* in local pronunciation? Cf. fn. 86 no. xiv. We dare not decide the question now, but believe that further research in this direction would be necessary. Interchange of *ē* and *ō* is also found sometimes, e.g. the use of the word *gēgöngan* in 64. IIIa. 16 and *gōgāngan* in 70. B. 17, which occur in a similar place of these charters. Such examples can be multiplied. Above, we have referred to the question of doubling of consonants, but the doubling of vowels,

though rare, is also not unknown. One can compare, for example, the use of *taas* in 46. 2, *pañjaṟaan* in 84. 14, *Vaatan* in 70. A. 23, *paargha* in 86. 11. 16. We cannot get into greater details regarding these linguistic peculiarities in a general introduction of this nature, but it is worth careful consideration whether the doubling of consonants and some other linguistic peculiarities outlined above conform to the usual Austronesian linguistic peculiarities or whether these or at least some of these may be attributed to dialectical peculiarities confined to specific geographical areas of Central Java. Unfortunately, the find-spot of a number of copper-plates of Central Java not being definitely known, there may be some difficulty in localising the provenance of the linguistic peculiarities and thus bringing the whole question under a comprehensive survey from the view point of local dialect. Another interesting phenomenon observed in connexion with the study of Old-Javanese words up to 928 A. D. is the non-existence of a verbal root which begins with the letter *n*. The occurrence of *n* at the beginning of a verbal root in combination with certain prefixes would have indeed rendered it difficult to postulate if the change of the initial letter of the root was due to the subsistence of *s* or *t* at the beginning of the root. It is however not certain if that is the only or even the most reasonable explanation of the phenomenon. Another thing which has struck me is that some words have been mispelt in all Javanese inscriptions, Skt. and Old-Jav., in the period under review. For example, the month of Phālguna has always been spelt with *ṇ*. Perhaps it was an original error, which once introduced, has persisted through in all inscriptions of Central Java discussed here.

Names: Names of persons and places recorded in Old-Javanese inscriptions provide one of the greatest hurdles in the path of the historian, as he is not always certain whether a particular name is to be taken for a personal or geographical name. Apart from differences in the spelling of personal names, as for instance, Manukū in 26.3 and Manuko in 27. 3, Tamuy in 76.14 and Tamui in 70.22 and many other similar instances, which are not perhaps of much significance, as they can be recognised easily or with some difficulty, there occurs a complete change in the name of a Javan on important occasions of his life, e.g. marriage, birth of a child, assuming important official status etc. We

can not say boldly, unless there are convincing reasons to the contrary, that a person enjoying a higher rank in a succeeding charter must necessarily be different from a person of less exalted rank with a different name in a previous charter of the same period. These difficulties would sometimes bedevil us in our study of the Old-Javanese charters.

Honorifics or titles like ḍa, ḍang, ḍapunta, ḍapunta hyang, ḍang hyang, sang hyang, bhagavanta etc. have been used for spiritual personages and sang or sang hyang for sacred objects (e.g. sang hyang vatu pinakasima). The title *sang* seems however to be used rather loosely, because while sang Adika, sang Subha and others of 37.2 are *tuha vanuas* (headmen of villages), vahuta hyang sang halaran of 38.A.3 is undoubtedly a religious person. Of course, it is quite possible to imagine that these *tuha vanuas* were also religious personages, but then the inscription in question does not throw any light on the matter. The epithet seems to have been used to respectable lay as well as religious personages. Analysis of the use of *Si* and *Pu* seems to indicate that the former is an epithet for the common people (youngsters, their wives as well as senior ladies *juru*-s or headmen have alike used the *si* epithet in 64. II. 16 and IIIa. 2 and 67. 23), while *pu* has been used for respectable and highly respectable persons like the king and other dignitaries. Cases are not, however, unknown where the some person has used the nonorific *si* in one inscription and *Pu* in another e.g. Rayung in 64. I. 13. and 76. A 13. Sometimes it has happened that the same person has used both *Pu* and *sang* in different parts of his own name in one and the same inscriptions, e.g. Sang Śivāstra *Pu* Asangā in 61. 1 and 64. 1. 8, but this long name has sometimes been contracted into the simple Śivāstra in 60. 1a. 5, 65. A 3, 70. A. 11 etc. One can also compare 64. 1. 8 and 60. 1a. 4 re : Samaravikrānta. Similarly the name of Dakṣa is written in 64. 1. 7 as Pu Dakṣa sang bāhubajrapratipakṣakṣaya ; rake vka pu bhasvara is called rakryan vka pu kutak pu bhasvara in 65, but in 70. A. 11 he is simply called Pu Kutak Bhāsvara. There are other examples as well. It is worth noticing in this connexion that the same person has used *Pu* and *Sang* indifferently, e.g. in Inscr. I A 7 and A 3 of no. 65, Tiruan Śivāstra once uses the honorific *Pu*, then again *sang*. The honorific *Pu* is also used before the names of female persons (*cf.* no. 24, 8-9). The use of *Pu* and *Sang* before names in Old-Javanese inscriptions, standing

side by side, do not therefore necessarily imply that the bearers of these names are two different persons or that they are males only. Sometimes the honorific *sang* has also been used before verbs to denote sacred association, e.g. we read : Śrī mahārāja sang lumaḥ ing pastika ("the illustrious mahārāja who was cremated at Pastika" in 88. 3 and Mahārāja Vagisvara sang lumaḥ ri kayuramya (the mahārāja Vagīśvara who was cremated at Kayuramya" in 91. 2. Names without honorifics *pu, si, sang* etc. are also not unknown, e.g. Havang Ananta (86. II. 1), Lua Sukun (86. II. 4), Vandāmi (88. 6) etc. The use of *pu* and *sang* or *pu* and *pu* in two parts of the same name poses certain problems, e.g. the question whether they mark change of status in life, such as the change from secular to spiritual life or from lower to higher official status or whether the phenomenon marks any other significant event in the life of the person concerned. The problem needs further discussion than we can afford at present.

The geographical names have also occasionally provided peculiar difficulties for us. Apart from the difficulty where a geographical or personal name has not been fully recorded (e.g. the village Vurudu Kidu of 90. 2. is called simply Vuruḍu in 90. 13, the village Ḍaman tarṣa of no. 56 is elsewhere called Ḍaman, the officer Kutak is called Kutak Bhasvara in 70. A. 11 etc.). A majo problem is created where we find it difficult to decide whether a particular name is to be treated as a personal or geographical name or an official title. To make the point clear, we may invite the attention of the reader to 31. 1a. where we read : i pameyan vinkas mangaran murah. It means : the *vinkas* of Pameyan called Murah. The *vinkas* is an office-holder, but what about Pameyan ? Does the *vinkas* hail from the place called Pameyan or is he an office-holder under a superior officer with the rare title of Pameyan or is Pameyan the name of a person under whom the *vinkas* called Murah served ? If Pameyan is a personal name or official title, on what ground do we desist from the application of the classic example of rakai halu of Airlangga's time to this case ? Because, if halu in *rake i halu* is a geographical name, why should we not apply the same principle to Vinkas i pameyan as well ? It may be urged that the example cited from the period of Airlangga is somewhat late and from a different part of Java, but if we accept the force of this argument, we shall then swing

about a full vicious circle without knowing where we stand. In some cases (94.B 1 and B 2), village name after anak vanua is the same as the personal name with *pu* and *sang*; in such cases, *sang* is put before the personal name, but the practice has not been universally followed. In the face of these difficulties, doubt is bound to remain in some cases about disinguishing real personal names from titles derived from place names.

Another related question is how to view the word after *vatak*? Is it to be treated as an official title or geographical or personal name? If it be a geographical name, what are we to think of, for instance, the following statement in 46.9: "rama *ni* anggul anak banua i tpung sugih vatak anggul"? The passage may be translated as "father of Anggul, resident of Tpung Sugih under Anggul". Here the first Anggul is a personal name; if so, what about the second Anggul occurring after vatak? Is the second Anggul then a personal name and if so, can we apply this principle in all inscriptions of Central Java? Or, is the similarity here accidental? To add to the confusion, there are other cases where geographical and personal names have sometimes been identical. For instance, K huripan is a well-known geographical name but in 40. A. 17 we read: Si Kahuripan rama ni hangū i e. Mr. Kahuripan, father of Hangū. Similarly, Vukajana is undoubtedly a geographical name in 72. 3, but it is definitely a parsonal name in 90. 3. Apparently, great caution is necessary to decide such cases, because there are other cases where the the words after *vatak* are undoubtedly official titles, e. g in 64 I. 13, where we read: "si rahula anak vanua i pangramuan vatak vadihati." *Vadihati* is a well-known official title. If we apply the analogy of vadihati to the case of Anggul, it will create more problems then we can solve. In some places, different places have been brought under the same *vatak*, e. g. Kalula, Kilipan, Patapan, specially in 70 and (K)hino in 80. 27-28 and 81. 2. In 87. 2, we come across the phrase *kapua vatak* i.e. all under such and such place. A complicated example is furnished by 86. II. 4 where the village Lua is once described as being under Lua again as being under Tañjung. Are Lua and Tañjung identical? Are they official titles or geographical names or is one an official title and the other a geographical name? We must confess the problems created by these difficulties seem to be almost insurmountable at present. As a working hypothesis, we may

suppose that the words after *vatak* is some-times an official title and sometimes a geographical entity. This would not appear surprising if we illustrate the point like this. If we once say that the District of Midnapur is under (the officer called) District Magistrate and again say that the District of Midnapur is under the (geographical division of) Burdwan, both the statements will be correct.

Official titles and Political Organisation:

Excepting a very few comparatively late charters from E. Java, political informations are hard to deduce from a study of the Old-Javanese inscriptions. The inscriptional data usually refer to the regnal years of different kings and throw some light on their titles and those of their dignitaries, indicate their mutual relationship and provide a glimpse into certain aspects of public administration in Central Java at a particular point of time. There is a bewildering number of official titles, but the exact significance of most of them eludes us for the most part. The most interesting, if not surprising, thing in respect of these official titles is that their number is very large and the majority of them are non-Indian and non-Sanskritic. The titles of rāja, mahārāja, mantrī, mahāmantrī, pati(h), bhagavanta, likhitapatra, nāyaka, variga and perhaps one or two others are of Indian origin, but the overwhelming majority of the titles are of Indonesian or Austronesian origin. This implies that before the arrival of the Indians in Java, the original population of Central Java had a political organisation, whose origin cannot be satisfactorily traced at present, but if the meanings of these Old-Javanese titles be any guide they seem to point to a well-regulated tribal organisation, in which the officials had a distinct role to play. Apparently the fine distinction of officials belonging to similar categories and having similar significance—*e.g. tuha(n), juru, rama*, etc. who are apparently some kind of village-chiefs or elders — is hard to determine at present, but the multiplicity of village officials itself indicates that there existed a tribal organisation of efficient type in the villages. There was a regular official hierarchy with differences in rank and, on ceremonial occasions, they were normally seated in order of (*yathākrama*) their status or rank and they obtained foundation gifts or confirmation money according to their status. Reference may be made to 86. III. 10, 96. 39 and some other inscriptions in this regard. Among the category of officers below the king, the highest dignitaries enjoyed the titles of *raka, rakryan* etc.

The term *raka* seems to be the abbreviated form of *rakarayan* and its variants. The full title may be derived from the Skt. word *kārya* or *kriyā*, to which the Indonesian honorific *ra* (*ḍa*) and the suffix *an* have been added. If we add *ra* to the word *kariyāna*, which occurs in the Skt. inscription of Kalasan, the word constituted will be *rakariyana*, which will have almost the same phonetic value as *rakarayan*. As far as published data prior to 928 A. D. go, the honorific title *ra* occurs only four times in Old-Javanese inscriptions. The whole title should then signify : honourable ones to do or execute works (as ordered by superiors). This interpretation seems to be etymologically and factually correct. It may also be noted in this connexion that *ḍa* also occurs as an honorific in Old-Javanese charters. Excepting this possible case and others of definite Skt. origin referred to above, the vast majority of titles are Pre-Indian, hence Indonesian or Austronesian in origin. In this tribal organisation, the status of the king was high. He was considered divine and hence the deification of kings was possible. This was facilitated by the worship of ancestors which was prevalent before the arrival of the Indians. In no. 22, the king is called sākṣāt trivikrama i. e. Viṣṇu Incarnate. The king was at the top of the administration. We cannot determine if the king was an absolute monarch, but apparently he was so, although this absolutism was possibly governed by customs and practices coming down from pre-historic times. He was assisted by numerous officials at different levels of the administration.

Land gifts : Land-gifts were usually recorded on stone or copper-plates. Kings and others have donated lands for the institution of freeholds mainly set up for religious purposes. The king's orders were communicated to the *rakryans* or other high officers and these were executed by junior officers with different functions. If we study the land-gifts of Central Java for the creation of freeholds, it will appear that even the kings had to purchase lands from the owners to make gifts to religious foundations (86. I. 3). Other persons besides the king have also instituted freeholds mainly for religious purposes. There is even reference to deified kings founding freeholds (91.2-3). The earlier land-gifts were simpler in character, but as times pass on, the grants become more complex in character and various new elements are sometimes introduced. It is, of course, possible to imagine that both simple and elaborate methods of instituting freeholds were simultaneously in vogue. In Indian

religious ceremonies even now, simple or elaborate methods of worshipping the same deity are permissible according to the capacity or desire of the devotee or the priest. What has been possible in religious matters might have also been possible in matters of instituting freeholds for religious purposes, but one can never be sure about these things till fuller evidence be forthcoming. In fully developed charters, the structure or framework is, as will appear from Nos. 64 and 86, as follows :

First is given a detailed description of the time when the charter was issued. This is the general peculiarity of all Old-Javanese inscriptions. Then occurs the name of the King or other persons who may be responsible for the foundation of the freehold or other institutions. The royal orders are then communicated through different *rakryans* or other high functionaries and then these orders are executed through appropriate government officers of lower category. In the well-developed charters meticulous details and specifications are given regarding the boundary and the measurement of the lands in question. The object for which the foundation is made is then narrated. The freehold is then exempted from the levy of the *mangilala drabya haji* or collectors of royal taxes, of whom detailed list is furnished in many inscriptions, and its privileges are described. We then find government officials and others receiving confirmation gifts in money and clothings of different varieties. Gold gifts in this connexion are not ample, but they have occasionlly been given to kings or members of the highest status ; they have also been recipient of special kind of clothings called *gaṅjar haji patra sisi, kalyāga, ambay-ambay, sulasih* etc. Silver and ordinary clothes have been given to persons of lower status. The names of all the officials, according to their status, and of others, high and low, men, women and children, have been given (e.g.No.86). Even the slaves have not been omitted from the list of the recipients. The foundation ceremony was attended with consecration of the sacred stone and there were merry-making, jesting, feasts, drinking of wine, dancing etc. The buffoons regaled the assembled people on such occasions (64. III.b.2) and masked-player possibly participated in acting or dancing to the tune of gamĕlan and other music (64. II b. 2 ; 96. 25 etc). Various kinds of articles, including food-stuff and implements were offered to *watu sima* or sacred stone of the foundation and to God

Brahmā, who is here identified with Fire (cf. No. 64). The manner of seating of the assembled people is sometimes described at this stage. The *vahuta hyang kudur* then utters the inprecatory formula, calling upon gods and other elements, including the spirits (both Indian and Indonesian) to witness the foundation-ceremony and protect it for all time to come. If anybody disturbs the foundation, he is threatened with destruction in various ways, the methods of which are elaborately described. It seems that towards the end of this period, the curses were not becoming effective ; hence, in addition, fines were also being imposed for infringement of the rights conferred by the charter (No. 98. 16)

Society : The Old-Javanese Society of Central Jave, at least in certain circles, was apparently modelled on the *caturvarṇa* and *caturāśrama*, (87. 11-12;97) but this caste system or stages of life does not seem to have percolated into all sections of the lower strata of the Javanese society or in all the rural areas of the country. The strong tribal organisation, which peeps in the background of the Old-Javanese charters, does not encourage us to believe that the Indian caste-system was all pervasive and all-inclusive. It is however understandable that persons in the court-circle, temple-zone and those in the urban areas were subjected to strong Hindu and Buddhist influences, but outsid that periphery Indian influence gradually diminished. In the Indianized areas, life of certain sections of the people was regulated according to the Indian canception of the caste system, but outside tha area native influence was predominant.

The position of women in the Old-Javanese society, as revealed in inscriptions, was fairly high, for they not only appear in the official role with official titles but they also exercised proprietory rights over landed property and other material things. In 61.1, we find a lady as owner of lands. Among the *rāma tpi sinings* i.e. heads of villages, we come across, in 84.12, a woman, who is mother of Kalangan. There are other examples in the same inscription. A woman could borrow money on her own account, as the case of *Si* Campa in inscription no. 73 proves. These examples refer to the high status of some village women in the society of Central Java. It appears from some inscriptions (e.g.72.II.12) that a lady perhaps bore the *samgat* title, but, if so, it is not clear if that title was borne in her own right as a *samgat* or simply as wife of a

samgat. Similarly, *raka*-title seems to be borne by dyah Muatan, mother of Bingah, in 95.6. She marked out a freehold for her own children to the exclusion of her step-son and step-daughter. The *rakryan*-title has also been borne by a queen. In 84.30, for instance, we read *rakryan binihaji parameśvarī*. The women participated in certain functions connected with the ceremonial foundation of freeholds. They received gifts (64.V 10 ; 70.A.12) and participated in community dancing.

Religion : Sanskrit charters have been issued in connexion with the installation of Hindu and Buddhist gods and goddesses of both the Tāntric and non-Tāntrik Schools. Hindu gods and goddesses referred to in the inscriptions mainly belong to the Śaivite pantheon, though Vaiṣṇavite deities are not altogether unknown. Tāntrik Śaivism, including the Śiva- Buddha cult, seems to have originally spread to Indonesia from Bengal. Buddhist divinities generally belong to the Mahāyānist School. Their association with the pre-*Nāgarī*-Script refers us to Eastern India and inevitably leads our thought to the international centre of Buddhist scholarship at the University of Nālandā. The religious fellowship between the Pāla monarchs of Bengal and the Śailendra monarchs of Central Java inaugurated a period of close cultural and religious co-operation, which has left its mark on the contemporary inscriptions of Java. It is interesting to note that not only temples for gods, but also funerary temples for deified beings have been set up under the foundation charters. These temples have been described as dharmma, dharma pangasthulan (62), prasada (39,40,) dharma prasada (22), dharma kabhaktyan, dharma kavikuan (82.A.6), dharmma sima etc. Unfortunately, the distinction of these temples from one another is not quite clear. Sometimes obscure gods like Vaprakeśvara, Haricandana etc. have made their appearance in the charters, but the worship of some of these divinities seems to be gradually receding into the background. Behind the charming Hindu and Buddhist facade, there remained the spirit-world of Indonesian conception and it was a very real one. Indeed, the spirits of the mountain-ranges, as invoked in some inscriptions, seem to refer to the hovering spirits of the ancestors, who "arrive in villages like demi-gods, rushing through the ways of the firmament." These spirit of the ancestors have always elicited the awe and respect of the Javanese people. Perhaps

this spirit-world contituted the matrix—which was never perhaps fundamentally shaken by Indian religious concepts—upon which the Indian religious systems were super-imposed.

I should now like to bring this introduction to a close, but before I do so, I should like to say a few words regarding the scheme of this work. To speed up the work of publication, the book has been divided into two parts and these are being printed simultaneously. The second part of this work contains remaining published dated inscriptions of Central Java up to the year 828 A.D. In the appendices, I have furnished a list of proper names (personal and geographical) as well as official titles, together with a list of important Old-Javanese words met with in the inscriptions, as also their meanings. I trust these appendices will enhance the utility of the work as a whole. I have tried my best to make appendices A & B exhaustive and all important Old-Javanese words occuring in these inscriptions have been brought under Appendix C. I should however observe that persons and localities have sometimes identical names and may therefore create confusion in the mind of the readers. The context of each reference under a particular entry is therefore to be carefully considered before accepting the identity of names. In some cases, it can be proved that persons with the same name in different, or even in the same inscription, are not indentical. To take some instances : the name Jaluk occurs in 64 IIIa, 5 and 6, but they are differnt, because the respective name of their father is different. Similarly, the name Kutil occuring in 64 III a-2 and III.6.1 of the same charter and Gada occuring in 16.8 and 16.9 refer to different persons. Many other instances of similar type can indeed be furnished, but these examples are sufficient to indicate that caution is necessary on the subject of identity of names. I have further culled in the appendices all types of spelling of names, as they occur in the charters, believing that this may facilitate the study of their linguistic peculiarities, if any, in the Javanese inscriptions and to see if these peculiarities are goverened simply by the linguistic phenomena or by dialectical and regional specialities.

Before I conclude, I must express my deep obligations to the scholarly works of Dutch, Javanese and French savants in this field, particularly to the writings of Kern, C. Stuart, Brandes, Krom, Poerch, Stutterheim, Poerbatjaraka, Goris, Van Naerssen, Damais, de Casparis,

among others, whose valuable researches in this field have considerably reduced my labour. I must also express my gratitude to my Professor Dr. R.C. Majumdar, who initiated me to the study of this fascinating subject and has taken ever since constant interest in all my projected works. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not refer to the warm courtesy of Dr. Lokes Chandra, Secretary, International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, who gave, during my short stay at New Delhi on the occasion of XXVIth Session of the International Congress of Orientalists (1964) all facilities for studying some rare books at the wonderful library of the Academy.

The original typescript of this work was lying uncared for for nearly quarter of a century for want of a suitable publisher, until it was virtually unearthed by Shri K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, now a close friend of mine, of M/S Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta. Even then it would have been impossible to publish the work, unless the Government of West Bengal had come forward with a generous grant, of Rupees seven thousand and five hundred only for which my sincere thanks are due. The remaining financial burden has been cheerfully borne by Shri K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, who has been a never-failing friend to me, indeed to all research-workers in need of pubication of their scholarly works. I do not wish to embarrass him by thanking him, as he is above and beyond it. I must also thank Dr. C. Hooykaas for providing me with an excellent set of photos of the inscriptions of king Pūrṇavarman, with which the present work begins. One of these photos has formed the background of the jacket of this work.

In the early thirties, when I had just started my studies of Indo-Javanese history and culture, Prof. N.J. Krom of the University of Leiden, Holland, offered me much encouragement and guidance whenever needed. I had never any occasion to meet him, but so great has been his contribution to the subject, to which I owe so much, that I have the greatest pleasure in inscribing this humble work to his name and memory.

Kharagpur College. H. B. Sarkar

1. 6. 70.

NO. I

FOUR ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF JAKARTA

The earliest inscriptions of Java belong to the western part of the island. They have been discovered in the hilly country round Bogor and in the east of Tanjong Priok, the port of Jakarta. All these inscriptions, four in number, are incised on rocks within the boundaries of the old residency of Batavia (Jakarta) and are not far removed from the seat of the government. Two other inscriptions in highly flourished script have indeed been discovered at Muara cianten and Pasir awi,[1] but they have baffled all attempts for decipherment. We have, therefore, to rest content, for the time being, with the four rock inscriptions mentioned above.

These four rock-inscriptions have been discovered from Ci-arutön, Jambu, Kĕbon Kopi and Tugu. Of these, the first three records round Bogor were known for a very long time; indeed, the Jambu inscription was discovered as early as 1854 by Mr. Jonathan Rigg. These Bogor epigraphs were included in Hoepermans' *Hindoe-oudheden van Java* (1864) and duly noted by Rev. Brumund[2] in 1868, but the first scientific account of these documents came from the pen of Dr. Cohen Stuart[3] who offered a good reading of the Ci-arutön inscription. In a post-script to his paper, Kern published the first reading of the Jambu record and wrote a cursory notice of the Kĕbon Kopi inscription. In 1877, he contributed another paper on the Jambu inscription.[4] This was followed, eight years later, by a separate paper from his pen[5] devoted to the inscriptions of Tugu and Kĕbon Kopi. But long afterwards he found it advisable to revise some of his readings. Both his original articles and these revised readings were then published in VG VII with the addition of facsimiles. The outstanding contribution to these inscriptions has however been made by Prof. Vogel[6] in his paper entitled "The earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of Java." This article has been accompanied by excellent facsimiles.

Three of these inscriptions have mentioned King Pūrṇavarman by name. The fair uniformity of the script and the circumscribed

area in which they were found jointly prove that king Pūrṇavarman of these undated documents is one and the same person. Till his other inscriptions come to light far off from the boundaries of the Old residency of Batavia the circumscribed *locale* of his documents will indicate that he was the ruler of a modest dominion.[7]

Inscriptions do not throw sufficient light on the genealogy of the King. Only the Tugu inscription in lines 1 and 5 refers to *rājādhirāja guru* and *pitāmaha rājarṣi*, who may possibly be the father and the grandfather of king Pūrṇavarman. Regarding Pūrṇavarman, however, this much is certain that he had his capital at Tārumā (or, Tārūm), he had a fairly long reign and that Indo-Aryan culture was not unknown in his kingdom. It is not possible to determine however if he was an Indian emigrant or a Javanese prince who had adopted Aryan name and culture. The records do not also clearly indicate the religion of Pūrṇavarman, though it is probable that he was a Brāhmaṇical prince.[8]

The scripts of these documents have similarity with Pallava-Grantha characters of the archaic variety. A comparison of these inscriptions with those of Borneo and Southern India reveals the fact that these records of Western Java have probably to be placed c. 450 A. D.,[9] though we must remember that there was not much change in Pallava-Grantha characters between 400-750 A. D. But how are we going to fix the sequence of these undated documents? Of the four inscriptions, only the Tugu record proves that Pūrṇavarman was living when that edict was promulgated: other records neither prove nor disprove anything. We have, therefore, to fall back upon the scripts to tell their tale. Among the four records under review, the oldest character has been used in the Ci-arutön inscription. With it, fair similarity of script has been maintained by the Tugu inscription which has the additional advantage of being dated in the twenty-second year of the king. The Kĕbon Kopi and the Jambu inscriptions, on the other hand, betray a somewhat later development of the script, as we find herein vowel-strokes developed into elegant ornamental curves. It is also possible that this variation is mainly due to the decorative style of writing of the copyists employed.[10] As this chronological knot cannot be disentangled with the aid of palaeography, we have no other recourse than to investigate the internal evidence of these two documents. Thus, the Jambu inscription

shows that it was composed after the death of the king; the inscription of Kĕbon Kopi, however, yields no promising data on this point. We have therefore to hold tentatively that the inscription of Kĕbon Kopi was engraved before the posthumous Jambu inscription. This arrangement has been maintained in the following description of these inscriptions.

(a). THE CI-ARUTÖN ROCK-INSCRIPTION

This rock-inscription is incised on a boulder lying in the bed of the rivulet Ci-arutön[11] in close proximity to the spot where it joins the Ci-sadane. It was previously described as the Campea inscription, because the place where it was found belongs to an estate of that name. It was Rev. Brumund[12] who first brought this record to general notice in 1868, but the inscription was not edited till May, 1875, when Dr. A. B. Cohen Stuart took upon himself the task of editing it with the help of an excellent photograph of the record taken by Mr. J. van Kinsbergen. The only point which Cohen Stuart left undecided was the name of the town which occurs in the third line of writing. Brandes finally decided that it must be read as *Tārūma*. The letter *ta* without loop is not so unusual as Vogel thinks: it is only a little archaic. The alphabets have similarity with the box-headed Pallava-Grantha characters and the record has been written in more or less grammatically correct Sanskrit. The inscription proper does not, therefore, offer any difficulty, but great uncertainty prevails regarding the significance of the so-called "spiders"[13] attached to the foot-prints of the king and the decipherment of a line of cursive writing which is written over the inscription to the right side of the royal footprints. Prof. Kern is said to have read the line as *Pūrṇṇavarmma padam*,[14] but a glance at the inscription will suffice to show that the reading is extremely doubtful. Dr. Brandes is also reported to have deciphered the line as *Śri ci aru( )eun vaśa* which he translates: 'the blessed lord of the Ci-aru ( )eun.' Though the addition of a *t* in the fifth syllable supplies us with the name of the river, the facsimile shows that the reading of Brandes is also equally impossible. Dr. Vogel remarks quite

humorously, "It is somewhat disconcerting that the two readings do not agree even in a single *akṣara*." But he admits that the first letter is *śri*. According to him, the next *akṣara* seems to be *ā* and the fifth one *rya* or *rtha*. The reading of these two letters may very well be doubted. I think it to be certain, however, that the last letter is also *śri*. This cursive line of inscription may be written from left to right[15] and read as : *śri cirutrudesa* (or, *deśa*) *śri* (or, *Srī*). This means : 'the prosperity of the blessed land Cirutru.' It may also be read from right to left, the meaning remaining the same. The forms of *ca* and *ta*, if they are indeed so, are somewhat archaic and, coupled with the ornamental curves, these would imply a local development of the older Indian script in the island. It appears to me, however, that this line of cursive writing may have no connexion with the Ci-arutön inscription of Pūrṇavarman and may be a little older than that. This hypothesis is, of course, provisional, as the reading is not certain.

The spot where this boulder has been discovered is supposed by Prof. Vogel[16] to be the cremation-ground of king Pūrṇavarman on account of the curious position of the inscribed rock on the bed of the Ci-arutön rivulet. As the script of this record appears to be older than that of the Tugu inscription which describes the "augmenting reign" of the illustrious Pūrṇavarman, the opioion of Dr. Vogel appears to be of doubtful value. There might be other circumstances for the inscription being there, whereof we are quite in the dark.

The inscription is written in the *Śloka*-metre, in four lines of Sanskrit verses, measuring 48 to 49 c. m. Excellent facsimiles of this inscription have been published by Dr. Vogel[17] and the following transcription is based on them.

TEXT.

1. Vikkrāntasyāvanipateḥ
2. Śrīmataḥ Pūrṇṇavarmmaṇaḥ[18]
3. Tārūmanagarendrasya
4. Viṣṇoriva padadvayam[19] ॥

TRANSLATION

1. Of the mighty[20] ruler of the world,
2. the illustrious Pūrṇṇavarmman
3. (who is) lord of the town of Tārūma,[21]
4. (this) pair of foot-prints comparable to Viṣṇu's. ॥

(b) THE TUGU ROCK-INSCRIPTION.

This rock-inscription was found at the village of Tugu which is situated to the east of Tanjong Priok, the port of Jakarta. As this village is comprised within the district of Bĕkasih, this inscription is sometimes described as the Bĕkasih inscription. In the year 1911, it was removed to the Jakarta Museum where it has been deposited in the epigraphical section as D. 124. Several estampages of this record were taken at various times and, when Kern[22] edited it for the first time in 1885, he was able to utilise some of them. A revised reading of this inscription was also published by him in 1910 when he was able to compare his reading with that of Dr. Brandes.[23] The last scholarly edition of this inscription has been made by Prof. Vogel,[24] whose reading is based on a set of excellent squeezes.

The stone on which the inscription has been incised is conical in shape and the first three lines of writing run through it in a curve. The last two lines are more or less straight. In this inscription with lines of unequal length, measuring M. 1.40, 1.90, 2.25, 2.38 and 1.20 respectively, double vertical strokes of about 60 c.m. have been used to denote the lines of separation. The smaller letters of this inscription are from 4 to 5 c. m. high, while some of the ligatures attain the height of 15 c. m.[25] The script is clearly engraved on the otherwise excellently preserved inscription. Before the opening line of the record, there is a carving of unknown significance : it looks like a trident or a burning torch.[26]

The language of the inscription is slightly obscure in one or two places and there have been some grammatical mistakes. It is written in five stanzas of Sanskrit verses, couched in *Śloka*-metre. The transcription given below is based upon the facsimile published by Vogel.[27]

TEXT

1. purā rājādhirājena guruṇā[28] pīnabāhunā khātā khyātām purīm
prāpya
2. candrabhāgārṇṇavam yayau ॥ pravarddhamānadvāviṅśadvat-
sara[29] śrīguṇaujasā narendradhvajabhūtena[30]
3. śrīmatā pūrṇṇavarmmaṇā ॥ prārabhya phālguṇe[31] māse khātā
kṛṣṇāṣṭamītithau[32] caitraśuklatrayodaśyām[33] dinais siddhaika-
viṅśakai(ḥ)[34]
4. āvatā ṣaṭsahasreṇa dhanuṣā(m) sa-śatena ca dvāviṅśena[35] nadī
ramyā gomatī nirmalodakā ॥ pitāmahasya rājarṣervvidāryya[36]
śibirāvanim[37]
5. brāhmaṇairggosahasreṇā[38] prayātī kṛtadakṣiṇā[39] ॥

TRANSLATION

1. Formerly, the Candrabhāgā, dug by the overlord of kings (viz.) the strong-armed *guru*,[40] having reached the famous town,
2. went to the ocean. In the twenty-second year of his augmenting reign, by the illustrious Pūrṇṇavarmman, who became the foremost (lit. banner) of the rulers of men on account of[41] the lustre of auspicious qualities,
3-4. was dug the charming river Gomatī,[42] of pure water, in length six-thousand one hundred and twenty-two *dhanus*,[43] having begun it on the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Phālguna and completed it in twenty-one days, on the thirteenth day of the bright half of (the month of) Caitra.[44] (That river) by digging through the camping ground of the grandfather and royal sage
5. floweth forth after having been endowed by the Brāhmaṇas with the gift of a thousand cows.

(c) THE KĔBON KOPI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

This inscription is incised on a rock which is found in a plateau enclosed between the two rivers of Ci-sadane and Ci-arutön. This

inscription has sometimes been called the Campea inscription, but as this name has also been applied to the Ci-arutön inscription, it is better to avoid the title of Campea inscription altogether. In the immediate neighbourhood of this Kĕbon Kopi inscription, Rev. Brumund long ago noticed lime-stone pillar bases, 1½ feet in each dimension, some of which were preserved *in toto*.

The stone inscription was included in the *Report* of Hoepermans, but it was first brought to public notice in 1868 by Rev. Brumund[45] who mentions two huge foot-prints of elephants carved on both sides of the inscription. A photo of this record was taken by Van Kinsbergen in 1872 and the first attempt to its decipherment was made by Prof. Kern[46] only in 1885. Kern,[47] however, considered his reading to be highly unsatisfactory and therefore published a revised reading of the inscription in 1910. The last scholarly contribution on this record comes from the pen of Prof. Vogel[48] who has distinctly improved upon the reading of Dr. Kern. His article is accompanied by facsimiles.

Dr. Vogel[49] observes that "although the inscription was executed with evident care, several of the *akṣaras* are more or less damaged or have become completely obliterated It is espicially the central portion of the inscription which has suffered……" The single *akṣaras* of this inscription measure 2 c.m while the ligatures are 6 c.m. in height. The inscription betrays decorative style of writing which it shares with the Jambu inscription.

The inscription does not refer to the name of any king, but mentions one Tārume(ndra), who, if we may rely on palaeographical evidence, is probably no other than king Pūrṇavarman. Palaeographical evidence is by no means exact and it may turn out after all that the inscription refers to a successor of Pūrṇavarman. Till evidence comes to the contrary, we may regard this Tārumendra, for all practical purposes, to be the same person as king Pūrṇavarman.

The inscription is written in Sanskrit verses and the metre is *Śloka*.

TEXT

……Jayaviśālasya tārume(ndra)sya ha(st)inaḥ
……(airā)vatābhasya vibhātīdampadadvayam (॥)

TRANSLATION

(Here) shineth the pair of foot-prints of the..... Airāvata-like elephant[49] of the lord of Tāruma (who is) great in conquering.....

(d) THE JAMBU ROCK-INSCRIPTION

The rock-inscription of Jambu lies on the top of a hillock called Pasir Koleangkak, which is 21 *paal* west of Bogor. The record has derived its name from the Jambu estate which belongs to the same district as the Ci-arutõn inscription. After its discovery in 1854 by Mr. Jonathan Rigg, it was successively described by Friederich,[50] Hoepermans[51] and Rev. Brumund,[52] but none of them made any serious attempt to decipher the script. The task was undertaken in 1875 by Prof. Kern who partially succeeded in giving a provisional reading of the record which was published by Dr. Cohen Stuart as a post-script to his article on *Heilige voetsporen op Java*.[53] A revised reading and translation of the Jambu inscription were offered by Kern[54] the very next year, though his final transcription[55] was not made till 1910. Dr. Vogel[56] has further suggested some improvements upon the last reading adopted by Kern.

About the general appearance of the document, Prof. Vogel[57] writes, "The inscription, which is cut in elegant characters on the flat surface of the rock, consists of two lines which measure M. 1.48 and 1.52 respectively in length. The height of the single *akṣara* varies from 2 to 7 c.m., while some of the ligatures with vowel-marks are no less than 12 c.m. in height.....Here too a pair of foot-prints are carved over the inscription, but they are partly broken off with the top of the rock.....The preservation of the Jambu inscription is not so perfect as is the case with that of Ci-arutõn. Owing to the disintegration of the surface of the rock some *akṣaras* have been somewhat indistinct. Yet.....no doubt subsists with regard to the true meaning of any of them."

The inscriptiom consists of only one stanza of Sanskrit verses written in *Sragdharā* metre. Each line consists of two *pādas* and there is no serious grammatical mistake. The record was evidently incised after the death of the king who has been represented here

as a great military hero. This eulogistic reference was made in connexion with the engraving of a pair of foot-prints of the king.

In the following transcription I have relied upon the facsimiles published by Prof. Vogel.[58]

TEXT

1. Śrīmāndātā[59] kṛtajño narapatirasamo yaḥ[60] purā tār(u)māyām[61] nāmnā śrī pūrṇṇavarmmā pracuraripuśarābhedya vikhyāta-varmmo[62]
2. tasyedam pādavimbadvayam arinagarotsādane[63] nityadakṣam bhaktānām yandripānām[64] bhavati sukhakaram śalyabhūtam ripūnām.

TRANSLATION

1. Illustrious, munificent, true to his duty[65] was the unequalled lord of men, the illustrious Pūrṇṇavarmman by name, who once (ruled) at Tārumā and whose famous armour[66] was impenetrable to the arrows of a multitude of enemies.
2. Of him, this is the representation[67] of the pair of foot-prints which, ever dexterous in demolishing towns of enemies, is salutary to devoted princes (but) like darts to his enemies,[68]

FOOTNOTES

1. Vogel, *Publ. Oudh. Dienst*, 1 (1925), pl. 34-35.
2. *VBG*, XXXIII, p. 65 ff.
3. *BKI*, 3: X (1875) p. 163 ff; *IA*, IV (1875) p. 355 ff.
4. *Versl. en Meded. Kon. AK. V. Wet. Afd. Lett.*, 2: VI (1877) p. 255 ff.
5. *BKI*, 4: X (1885) P. 522 ff.
6. *Publ. Oudh. Dienst* I (1925) pp. 15-35.
7. Mr. Pleyte conjectured that his territories must have comprised the plains watered by the Ci-liwong and the Ci-tarum rivers.

8. See Chhabra in *JASBL*, 1, p. 32. In *TBG* 80 (1940) pp. 78-109 Moens makes far-fetched speculation regarding the religion of Pūrṇavarman.
9. *cf.* Vogel, *op. cit*, p. 34. Kern, *VG* VII, pp. 9, 131. Bühler seems to favour a much later date for the Jambu inscription. See his *Indian Palaeography*, p 70.
10. *cf.* Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.
11. Vulgo : Ciaruten or Ciaruteun.
12. *VBG* XXXIII, p. 64; *Rapp. Oudh. Dienst*, 1913, p. 75.
13. For various theories, see Vogel, *op. cit*., p. 23 and references thereon.
14. *Notulen*, XLVII, p. 187 f. n.; Kern, *VG*, VII, p. 4 f.n. 1. Jayaswal's reading of this line (*EI*, XXII, pp. 4-5) as śrī pūrṇṇavarmaṇaḥ also appears to be extremely conjectural.
15. Writing from right to left is not usual in India and only a few illustrations can be cited from earlier times. See Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 3 4 of Introd., and p. 8 of the text; Dasgupta, *The development of the Kharoṣṭhī Script*, 1968.
16. *Op. cit.*, p. 20.
17. *Op. cit.*, plates 28, 29.
18. Vogel's reading of 'varma' is not correct and this is probably due to an oversight.
19. The use of the words 'vikrānta' and 'viṣṇoriva padadvayam' jointly suggests the Trivikrama-incarnation of Viṣṇu.
20. "Vikrānta" (= Vi + kram + kta) may also possibly mean "deceased". My colleague, Prof. S. K. Bhattacharya, endorses this interpretation. If this interpretation be accepted, king Pūrṇavarman could appear to have been deified and his feet were adored like those of Viṣṇu's. This interpretation will bring the idea in line with Vogel's suggestion referred to in a preceding paragraph mentioning that the find-spot is the cremation-ground of king Pūrṇavarman. So far as I can see, one difficulty in accepting this interpretation from palaeographic point of view is that this inscription seems to be the oldest of Pūrṇavarman's inscriptions. Against it, it can be urged that palaeographic evidence cannot, by itself, be infallible. See also *TBG* 80 (1940) p. 82
21. Mr. Pleyte (*Het Daghet* I, p. 178) has made the ingenious suggestion that the name Tārūma is perhaps preserved in the river Ci-tarum which indicates the boundary of the (old) residencies of Batavia and Krawang, to the east of Bogor. The meaning of the name of *Tarum* is 'indigo' in Indonesian vocabulary. A name Tārumapura also occurs in a South-Indian inscription (*S Ind. Inscr.* pt II, p. 159. Schnitger quoted by Chhabra in *JASBL* I, p 32)
22. *BKI*, 4 : X (1885) p. 522ff.
23. *TBG*, LII (1910) p.123 ; *VG*, VII, p.129 ff. with a facsimile of a part of the inscription.
24. *Op. cit* ; p. 28 ff.
25. *Ibid*., p. 33.
26. To Dr. Vogel it appears like a trident (*triśūla*) with some floral or foliated ornament. Dr. Rouffaer (*Notulen*, XLVII, p.186, f.n.) describes it as a "sacrdotal staff crowned with trident, the central prong of which has the shape of lotus-flower."
27. *Op. cit.*, pl. 27.
28. Vogel reads nā, but ṇā is certain.
29. Read, °śare.
30. Vogel reads °bhūnena and corrects it as above. *Te* is however certain. In this inscription, *ta* is distinguished from *na* by the slightly triangular form it (*ta*) betrays.
31. Read. °une.
32. Vogel's reading is kṛṣṇāṭaṣmi°, which appears to be an error in printing.
33. Or, *ce*°. In that case read: cai°.
34. The *visarga* is not visible and has to be inserted.
35. The distinction between *na* and *ta* is not very wide.
36. Vogel misreads it as °rya.
37. Vogel reads śi°, but the sign of the longer medial seems to be present with the loop. If that is so, the word should be corrected as śivirā°.
38. Read, °ṇa.
39. °*ṇā* is not certain. It may also doubtfully be read as °no.
40. This may also be translated as : "overlord of kings (viz.) Pīnabāhu, the *guru*..." Here Pīnabāhu may be a proper name, and *guru* may stand for 'father'. But if *guru* has a different significance here, it cannot be ascertained whether *rājādhirāja guru* (1. 1) and *pitāmaha rājarṣi* (1. 4) should refer to one and the same person or to different persons. See also Chhabra, *JASBL*, 1, pp. 32-33.
41. My translation slightly differs from that of previous writers on account of my considering the phrase to be a case of *hetvarthe tṛtiyā*.
42. A river of this name is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* (X.75.6). The river Gomati is also known to flow by Lucknow. Another river of this name exists in Tipperah, Bengal. The names of Candrabhāgā and Gomatī are indeed found in lists of South-Indian rivers as given in the *Purāṇas*, but these lists are not reliable in all cases. Channels of these names are also found in the Ceylonese chronicles *Cullavaṃśa*, LXXIX, 48, 52).
43. 1 *dhanu*=4 *hastas*=2 yds. The canal was, therefore, approximately 7 English miles in length. According to another reckoning, 12 miles.
44. In these references, Dr. Vogel (*op cit.*, p-32) sees the currency of amānta-scheme and considers this to be a case of South-Indian influence.
45. *VBG*, XXXIII, P. 64.
46. *BKI*, 4 : X (1885) p.525.
47. *TBG*, LII (1910) p. 124 ; *VG*, VII, pp. 135-136, with facsimile.
48. *Op. cit.*, p.27 ff.
49. *Ibid.*
49. In Indian mythology, Airāvata is known as the *vāhana* of Indra, the king of gods,
50. *TBG*, III (1855) p 183 ff.
51. *Hindoe-oudheden van Java* (1864) in *Rapp.oudheidk. Dienst*, 1913, p.75 ff.
52. *VBG*, XXXIII (1868) p.65 ff.
53. *BKI*, 3 X (1875) p 163 ff ; Kern, *VG*, VII,p.4 f.n. with facsimile.

54. *Versl. Meded. Kon. Ak. v. Wet. Afd, Lett.*, 2:VI (1877) p.257 ff. The paper was read at Amsterdam on Nov.13,1876.
55. *TBG*,LII (1910) p.123 ff ; Kern, *VG*, VII,.p.1 ff. with facsimile.
56. *Op. cit.*, p. 24 ff.
57. *Ibid*, p. 25.
58. *Op. cit.* plates 30, 31.
59. Kern read °pātā. The dātā is clear on the plate, though in the photo of Kinsbergen (No 12) it appears like pā.
60. Read, yo.
61. Vogel's reading of māya(m) is certainly incorrect, as the sign for the medial *ā* is extremely clear on the plates. The *anusvāra* need not be placed within bracket, as this is visible to the right above the *serif*.
62. Read, °mā.
63. Mr. Pleyte (*Het Daghet* I, p. 178) and Dr. Rouffaer (*Notulen*, XLVII, p. 152 f n.) are certainly mistaken in discovering the name of the river Ci-sadane in the Skt. word *Utsādane* which forms the third member of the compound above. The suggestion has nothing to commend itself.
64. Read, Yannṛpā°. Kern's final reading of tridhātau appears to be wrong, while Vogel's reading tallies with ours.
65. Vogel translates *Kṛtajño* by 'true to his duty.' The term may also be translated by 'grateful'. See hereover Vogel in *BKI*, 100 (1941) p. 444.
66. The writer makes a pun with the word *varmmā*.
67. Vogel has left this out in his translation.
68. This statement may offer a clue to the solution of the problem of the so-called 'spiders' in the Ci-aruton inscription. These 'spiders' appear to be no other than the enemies of the king who are to be crushed like insects by the feet of the king.

No. II
THE STONE OF TUK MAS

This inscription has been incised on a huge boulder lying near the spring called Tuk Mus in the neighbourhood of Deśa Lĕbak, Sub District Cokro, Dt. Grabag (Ngasinan) Res. Kĕdu. It lies at the foot of the volcano Mĕrbabu in Central Java. Out of steep, stony walls, water shoots up from the bottom in a number of places, and the biggest of these fountains bears the name of Tuk Mas, which disgorges itself in the Kali Bolong. In Old-Javanese the word "Tuk Mas" means the Golden Spring. The foreside of the boulder is very smooth. It measures about 1.60 M in length and about 0.75 M in breadth.

The vacant space above the inscription contains at least sixteen symbols connected with the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu, which was obviously prevalent here. These symbols are trident, two water pots, an axe, a club, four lotus rosettes, a knife, wheel with sixteen spokes, a conch-shell, a mace etc. In Bijl III of BKI, 65, (1911) has been published, as an annexure to Kern's article, a sketch of the symbols. Bijl I & II contain the facsimile of the inscription, which is also published in VG VII p. 203. For earlier reference,[1] one may turn to *Notulen* 1888, p. 49; *Ibid* 1899; *Encyclo.* N. S. III 1902) p. 129.

The inscription consists of a single verse in *upajāti* metre, II. 1-3 Being *Upendravajrā*, l. 4 *Indravajrā*. As the Pallava Grantha character has not undergone much change between 400-750 A.D., it is difficult to assign any particular date for this inscription. Prof. Kern[2] placed it around 500 A.D., while Krom was inclined to place it in the middle of the 7th century A.D. The inscription has undoubtedly to be placed between the set of four Jakarta-inscriptions described earlier and the following inscription of King Sañjaya (Canggal). As the letter-types seem to betray closer affinity with those of the inscription of Canggal, the Tuk Mas inscription may be placed, subject to observation made above, in the middle of the 7th century A. D. Dr. B. C. Chhabra[3] has furnished the latest reading of the inscription, which is quite legible, except at the beginning and at the end.

The text of the inscription is given below.

TEXT

(iyant)uśucyamburuhānujātā
kvacicchilāvālukanirgateyaṃ
kvacitprakīrṇṇā śubhaśītatoyā
saṃprasṛatā[4] m(edhya)karīva[5] gaṅgā

TRANSLATION

Originating from pure (or bright) lotuses,[6] (herefrom), gushes out this (spring or streamlet), which is as purifying as the Ganges, coming out in some places from stone and sand, in others spreading out its auspicious and cool water.

FOOTNOTES

1. For details see Kern, *BKI* 65 (1911) p. 334 ff. Reproduced in *VG* VII pp. 199-204.
2. *BKI, op. cit.* p. 330.
3. *JASBL* : 1 (1935) pp. 33-4.
4. Read : ˚srutā.
5. This improvement in the reading is due to Chhabra. Kern read : ma ū ū - va gaṅgā. Secondly, as it is difficult to imagine how streamlets can come out of white lotuses, an alternative translation of the relevant phrase will be : "Having the pure (or bright) lotuses as her sister..."
6. Kern translates : pure white lotuses (zuiver witte lotussen).

No. III

THE STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAÑJAYA

(CANGGAL), 654 Śaka.

The Canggal inscription is the earliest dated record found in Java.[1] It was discovered nearly 90 years back near the temple-ruins on the *gunung* Vukir, below the hamlet of Canggal, in *desa* Kadiluvih of the district of Salam, in the Magĕlang division of South Kĕdu.[2] In 1879 it was deposited at the Batavia Museum where it has been numbered D. 4. Five years later, on March 10, 1884, the news of its discovery was communicated to the Royal Academy of Amsterdam by Mr. Holle[3] and, the very next year, Prof. Kern[4] edited the inscription with elaborate notes, translation and an introduction. His article was accompanied by a heliotype of the record made after a paper-squeeze of the inscription. When his article was reproduced in the year 1917, Kern[5] gave a new facsimile of the inscription, which was based upon a photo of the *Oudheid. Dienst*, taken in January, 1917. The latest facsimile has been published by Dr. Chhabra[6] who has also suggested some improvements upon the reading of Dr. Kern. A fragment of the last line of this inscription was found in 1937 and it contained the last *akṣara* and a part of the preceding one.[7]

The inscription is beautifully and legibly engraved on a stone measuring 110 c.m. in height and 78 c.m. in breath. The decorative style of writing which we notice in the Jambu inscription is missing in the record under review, but its elegance of carving certainly represents a more advanced stage of palæography. As there is gap of more than 250 years between these inscriptions certainty cannot be reached on the question of considering this script of Central Java to be evolved from the West-Javanese script. In this respect, the Canggal inscription stands relatively closer to the Tukmas inscription and both of them agree in differing from the inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman in respect of such letters as *ra*, *ṇa*, etc. We cannot, however, say at the present moment if these variations have to be attributed to the history of script-evolution in Java. The Canggal inscription, at any rate, has several points of difference with the West-Javanese Script,

while there are many points of agreement with what Bühler calls the "Middle Grantha" of Southern India. It is not unreasonable to presume with the data at our disposal that the script of Canggal may be independently derived from the Andhra-Kaliṅga region, introducing at the same time some local innovations into it. Prof. Kern[8] has noticed that the script of the Canggal inscription has also been used in the Hanh Khiei inscription of Cambodia and in the Uruvalli copper-plates of the Pallavas.

The inscription was incised on the occasion of founding a Śiva-*liṅga* in the Śaka year 654. By referring the date of this inscription to the Christian era it has been found out that this red-letter day fell on the 6th of October, 732 A.D., at one o'clock in the afternoon.[9] The record, after lavish praises of Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, describes the "great" island of Java. We are told that this land was ruled over by Sanna (or, Sannāha) and that he was succeeded by Sañjaya, the reigning king. This Sañjaya was the founder of the Śiva-*liṅga* which has been mentioned in the opening verse of the inscription. It has been supposed that the father of Sañjaya might have been a Javanised Hindu, because the name Sanna-Sannāha is more or less unsanskritic. This may or may not be true, but there cannot be any doubt regarding the strong influence exerted by Hinduism in the highest circle of the State. Two charters of Java bear the Sañjaya era, a river in Central Java is called Kali Śĕndjaja, later inscriptions speak of rahyangta Sañjaya (*OJO* p. 147, VBG. LX) and introduce a dynastic list beginning with "rahyangta rumuhun ri mḍang ri poḥ pitu rakai matarām sang ratu Sañjaya etc." If all these references pertain to this Sañjaya, they would bear eloquent testimony to his power and prestige.[10]

The record is written in ornamental Sanskrit of not a very high order. It shows however that the poet was well-versed in Sanskrit mythology. The following metres have been used : Vv 1-2,4-7,12 in Śārdūlavikrīḍita ; 3, 8 and 11 in Sragdharā ; 9 in Vasantatilaka and 10 in Pṛthvī.

TEXT.

1. śākendre tigate[11] śrutīndriyarasairaṅgīkṛte[12] vatsare
vārendau dhavala trayodaśitithau[13] bhadrottare kārttike
2. lagne kumbhamaye sthirāṅśavidite[14] prātiṣṭhipatparvvate
liṅgaṃ lakṣaṇalakṣitannarapatiśśrīsañjayaśśāntaye ‖ 1

3. gaṅgottuṅgataraṅgarañjitajaṭāmaulīnducūḍāmaṇi
rbhāsvatbhūti[15]vibhūtidehavikasannāgendrahāradyutiḥ[16]
4. śrīmatsvāñjalikośakomalakarairdevaistu ya stūyate
sa śreyo bhavatāṃ bhavo bhavatamassūryyo dadātvadbhutam[17] ‖ 2

5. bhaktiprahvairmunīndrairabhinutamasakṛt svargganirvvāṇaheto-
rddevairlekharṣabhādyairavanatamakuṭaiścumvitaṃ ṣa[6]ṭpadābhaiḥ
aṅgulyātāmrapatraṃ nakhakiraṇalasatkesarārañjitāntaṃ
deyāt śaṃ śāśvatamvastrinayanacara[7]ṇāninditāmbhojayugmam ‖ 3

aiśvaryyātiśayodbhavātsumahatāmapyadbhutā(nāṃn)idhi-
styāgaikāntaratastanoti[8]satataṃ yo vismayaṃ yoginām
yo ṣṭābhistanubhirjagatkaruṇayā puṣṇāti (na svārtha)to
bhūteśaśśaśikhaṇḍabhū[9]ṣitajaṭassa tryaṃvakaḥ pātu vaḥ ‖ 4

vibhraddhemavapussvadeha[18]dahanajvālā ivodyajjaṭā
vedastambhasuba[10]ddhalokasamayo dharmmārthakāmodbhavaḥ
devairvvanditapādapaṅkajayugo yogīśvaro yoginām
mānyo loka[11]gururddadātu bhavatāṃ siddhiṃ svayambhū-
rvvibhuḥ ‖ 5

nāgendrotphaṇaratnabhittipatitāṃ dṛṣṭvātmavimbaśriyam
sabhrū[12]bhaṅgakaṭākṣayā kupitayā nūna(ṃ[19])śriyā vīkṣitaḥ
yo yogāruṇalocanotpaladalaśśetembuśayyāta[13]le
trāṇārthantridaśai(s)stutassa bhavatāndeyāt śriyaṃ śrīpatiḥ ‖ 6

āsīddvīpavaraṃ yavākhyamatula(ndhānyā)[14]divijādhikam
sampannaṃ kanakākaraistadamarai *mantrā*dino[20]pārjitaṃ
śrīmatkuñjarakuñjadeśanihi(taṃ[21]ga)[15]ṅgāditīrthāvṛtam[22]
sthānandivyatamaṃ śivāya jagataśśambhostu yatrādbhutam ॥ 7

tasmindvīpe yavākhye puruṣa(pada)[16]mahālakṣyabhūte[23]
praśaste
rājogrodagrajanmā prathitapṛthuyaśāssāmadānena samyak
śāstā sa(rvva pra)[17]jānāñjanaka iva śiśorjanmato vatsalatvāt
sannākhyassannatārirmmanuriva sucirampāti
dharmmeṇa p(ṛ)thvī(m) ॥ 8

[18] evaṅgate samanuśāsati rājyalakṣmīm
sannāhvayenvayavidhau samatītakāle
svargge s(ukhaṃ phala)ku(lo)[19]paccitamprayāte
bhindañjagadbhramati śokavaśādanātham ॥ 9

jvalajjvalanavidravatkanakagauravarṇa (dyutiḥ)[24]
(bṛ)[25][20]hadbhujanitamvatuṅgatamamūrddhaśṛṅgonnataḥ
bhuvi[26] sthitakulācalakṣitidharoccpādocchrayaḥ
(prabhūta)[21]guṇasampadodbhavati yastato meruvat ॥ 10

śrīmānyo mānanīyo vudhajananikaraiśśāstrasūkṣmārtha(vedī)
(rā)[22]jā śauryyādiguṇyo raghuriva vijitānekasā(mantaca)kraḥ
rājā śrīsañjayākhyo raviriva ya(śasā di)[23]gvidikkhyātalakṣmī
ssūnussannāhanāmnassvasura(savaiva nyā)[27]yataśśāsti
rājyam ॥ 11

yasmiñchāsa(ti sāga)[24]rormmiraśanāṃ śailastanīmmedinīm
śete rājapathe (jano na) cakitaścorairna cānyairbhayaiḥ
kīrttyā(dhyairalama)[25] rjitāśca satatan-dharmmārthakāmā naraiḥ
nūnaṃ roditi roditīti sa kalirnnāsyaṅga[28] (cihnyānya) bhu(ḥ) ॥ 12

TRANSLATION.

1. When the year of the Śaka king that is brought to numbers with four, five and six (654) was passed, on Monday, the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month which follows (the *tithi*) Bhadrā,[29] in (the month) of Kārttika, while the *lagna* stood under *Kumbha* in the part[30] called "fixed", the king (who is) the illustrious Sañjaya,[31] for obtaining tranquility, established on the hill a *liṅga*[32] with (all) auspicious marks.
2. He who is a Sun in the darkness of the world ; who has for his crest-jewel the Moon on his matted locks which are beautified by the surging waves of the Ganges ; on whose body dazzling with the brilliance of ashes, scatters its brilliance the necklace of snakes ; who is praised by the gods with graceful and soft palms (of their hands) folded in the form of a vessel ; he, Śiva, may bestow on you the most perfect bliss !
3. May that irreproachably beautiful pair of feet-lotuses of the three eyed one (Śiva) which are constantly praised by the greatest of sages by bending low in homage for their salvation in heaven ; which are kissed by the greatest of gods and demons and others with their bent crowns which are (comparable to) the bees (that kiss the lotus) ; whereof the slightly copper-coloured petals are the toes and whereof the end is decorated by bright filaments of rays (issuing) from the nails ; may (that pair of feet) grant you perpetual bliss !
4. May the three-eyed one (Śiva) whose matted locks are adorned with the crescent moon ; who, by reason of excess of His divine attributes, is a receptacle of great, and even, wonderful things ; who, given to solitude, by his renunciation (of all things), always creates the wonder of *yogins* ; who, by his eight-fold bodies[33] and through compassion but not selfishness, sustains the universe ; may he, the lord of (all) beings, protect you !
5. May the self-created Lord (Brahmā), the object of worship of the world, whose pair of feet-lotuses are revered by the gods ; who has fixed the regulations of the world to the post of the *Vedas* ; who is the source of religion, wordly prosperity and desire ; whose body dazzles like gold and whose matted locks are

comparable to the flames of the fire of his own body; may he, the lord of *Yogins*, the venerabla one,[34] reward you with success!

6. May he, who lies on the surface of the watery bed, the petals of whose eye-lotuses are red through meditation; who is behymned by the gods for protection; who is always frowningly viewed by the goddess Śrī[35] on seeing the beauty of her own image reflected on the side-levels of the jewels on the up-turned crown of the king of serpents; may he, the lord of Śrī, grant you prosperity!
7. There is[36] a great island called Yava, abundantly supplied with rice-grains and other seeds and rich in gold-mines[37]; that (island) is acquired by the immortals (by *mantras*) and other means; where there is a wonderful place dedicated to Sambhu, a heaven of heavens, surrounded by the Ganges and other holy resorts and laid in a beautiful woodland habitated by elephants,[38] existing for the good of the world.
8. In that excellent island called Yava which is the great mark of footprints of Puruṣa,[39] there was a king of very noble lineage of the name of Sanna who was of established reputation and who, by means of conciliation and gift, ruled the subjects in a proper way, out of attachment, just like a father (taking care of) the child from his very birth and who with his enemies subdued, protected the world for a long time with justice like Manu.
9. He (the king) named Sanna, the (very) Moon of the family, while thus ruling over the goddess of royalty, having, in the fulness of time, gone to enjoy happness in the heaven which is the accummulated results (of his meritorious deeds). (Then) the earth, separated (from him) roamed in grief for being bereft of her lord.
10. The one who sprang from him[40] was like the (Mount) Meru and possessed a wealth of manifold qualities: he has the splendour of the bright colour of the gold that has been smolten in the flaming fire; he has great arms, big thighs and head upraised like the mountain-peaks, and has the shelter of his high-raised feet on the kings of stable dynasties obtaining on the earth.
11. The illustrious king called Sañjaya, who is beautiful and respected

by the assembly of the learned as an adept in the subtle meanings of *Śāstric* lore; who, excelling in bravery and other virtues, has, like Raghu,[41] overthrown many circle[42] of feudal lords; who is like the sun in fame and whose splendour spreads in all regions; he, the son of Sannāha,[43] the very life of his sister, is (now) ruling the kingdom justly.

12. While he is ruling the earth which has for her girdle the waves of the seas and for her breasts the mountains, people can sleep on the road-side without being startled by the thieves or by other fears. And men, rich in fame, always earned in plenty (the three aims of life, viz.,) religion, worldly prosperity and the objects of desire. Certainly *Kali* is crying much in despair as no sign of his (Kali's) limbs is shining (i.e. is in existence).

FOOTNOTES

1. There is a copper-plate record in the Museum at Frankfurt relating to one Śrī Mahādevī. It has been said to date from 637 Śaka, but it is not known for certain if it is authentic and of Javanese origin. The provisional information of Bosch regarding the inscription was published in *OV.* 1929, p.156. See Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p.123 f.n. Dr. Van Naerssen in his Doctoral thesis (not yet printed, but communicated to me in a letter) and in an article contributed to *Tijdschrift Cultureel India* (1939) pp.21 and 22 came to the conclusion that this copper-plate is to be dated in 937 A.D.
2. *Vide Rapp. Oudh. Dienst*, 1914, p.262, no.843.
3. *Versl. Meded Kon. AK. v. Wet. Afd. Lett.*, 3 : 1 (1884) pp. 264 ff.
4. *BKI*, 4 : X (1885) pp.125-128.
5. See *VG*, VII, p.155 ff.
6. See *JASBL*, I (1935) pp.34-37.
7. See *OV* 1938 p.18 (entry : Kadiloewih) with a photograph in fig. 49. Dr. Damais was kind enough to invite my attention to this fragment.
8. *VG* VII, p.123 ff. For linguistic peculiarities of this inscription see *Ibid.*, pp. 125-127.
9. *JASBL*, I (1935) p.35; Damais, *BEFEO*, 45 (1951), p.60 and 46 (1952) p. 20, f.n.2.

10. Regarding the historical importance of the data, see Stutterheim in *TBG*, 79 (1939) pp. 75 ff. See also Coedès, *Les Etats hindouises d' Indochine et d' Indonesie* (2nd ed) 1948, p. 216.
See in this connexion Stutterheim in *BKI* 90 (1933) pp. 282 ff.
11. *vigate* would have given a better sense, but the reading seems to be impossible. Perhaps this is an error of the engraver.
12. Kern corrects as aṅkīkṛte. This is not necessary, as *aṅgīkṛte* also yields good sense.
13. The correct form is °śī, but metre requires a short syllable.
14. Kern read °ṅga. In the facsimile of Chhabra, we undoubtedly read as above. Chhabra's reading also tallies with ours.
15. This appears from Chhabra's facsimile. In Kern's facsimile we read *pati* and and not *paṃti*, such as Kern reads. Moreover, the world is *paṃkti* and not *paṃti*. Read the text as *'vad'*.
16. The last letter, i.e., the *visarga* is clear on the facsimile, but Kern placed it within bracket.
17. The *virāma* has been denoted by a semi-circular stroke above the last letter, We miss this form in the Kalasan inscription.
18. Kern reads °*doṣa*° but °*deha*° is clear. Chhabra's reading tallies with ours.
19. Kern reads duram, but *nūn*° is clear. See this word in the last line. Chhabra also reads *nūn*°.
20. Chhabra suggests : ssvarggā°, but the writing of the word in l. 18 is different.
21. Kern read : °tavaṃśāditīvādhṛtaṃ, but that violates the metre. In Chhabra's facsimile, the second *Ka* in the compound is not so clear.
22. Chhabra read this word as given above, and this reading is now generally accepted. I have doubtfully read the indistinct word in the second pāda of this *śloka* as *mantrā*°. Stutterheim in *TBG* 79 (1939) p.75 ff. has tried to establish the fact that Kuñjarakuñja as well as Gaṅgā of this inscription are to be located in Java.
23. Chhabra reads : °lakṣma°.
24. See *JASBL*, I, p.36.
25. *Ibid.*, p.35, f.n.5.
26. I do not find way to accept Chhabra's readings.
27. The lacuna has been filled up by me.
28. Kern's reading of °stya° is very doubtful. Read : °asyāṅga°. The copyist seems to have dropped the medial ā through mistake.
29. That is dvādaśī. Bhadrā is a group of the following *tithis*, viz, dvitīyā, saptamī and dvādaśī.
30. By 'part' 1/9th of an astrological house is meant. See Kern, *VG*, VII, p.121 f. n. 1.
31. In an inscription of Kĕdu, a king Sañjaya heads the list of Matarām kings. He is identical with king Sañjaya of our inscription. See *TBG*, 67 (1927) pp.172-215.
32. Dr. Bosch has developed a theory which seeks to establish a relation between Śiva-*liṅga*, the reigning dynasty and the foremost Brāhmaṇa. According to this theory, the king appears on earth in the place of Śiva and his royal prowess is personified in the *liṅga*. The Brāhmaṇa, who is the mediator, receives this ore-*liṅga* of Śiva and presents it as a palladium to the founder of the dynasty. Dr. Bosch has also tried to show that this tradition was current not only in Java, but also in Campā and Cambodge. For full particulars see *TBG*, 64 (1924) pp. 230 ff.
33. Śiva's eight-fold bodies consist of the five elements and mind, egotism and matter. In place of the last three we have also the Sun, the moon and the sacrificing host (Yajamāna). cf. the prelude to Kālidāsa's *Abhijñanaśakuntalaṃ* For elaborate treatment of the aṣṭamūrti concept of Śiva, see K. Bhattacharya, *IHQ*, 29(1953), pp. 233-51.
34. In the use of the word *mānyo*, Dr. Poerbatjaraka (*Agastya*, pp. 2,44 ff.) sees an allusion to Agastya. That is extremely improbable here, because Agastya is never associated with Brahmā and, moreover, he is not *Svayambhū* but *Kumbhayoni*. I think that these verses are devoted to the praise of the Trinity.
35. The goddess of wealth.
36. Lit. there was.
37. On the problems of goldmines in Java, See Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p.58 and the literature cited thereon.
38. A Kuñjarakuñja-deśa is otherwise unknown in Java. Indeed, it seems to be no geographical name at all. The romance of Kuñjarakuñja thus disappears, leaving in its place a beautiful woodland inhabited by elephants. The hilly terrain of Gunung Wukir with its forest region or some parts of the Kĕdu-plains near the foot of the hill may be the beautifull woodland inhabited by elephants. The abode of God Śambhu was thus laid deep inside that forest area. The significance of the word *nihitaṃ* is properly revealed by this interpretation. It is not unlikely, though not certain, that the *liṅga* established by Sañjaya "on the hill", as stated in Śloka I was installed in the "wonderful place dedicated to Śambhu" in the "beautiful woodland of Śloka 7. So it is not really necessary to search for Kuñjarakuñja in Java.

    Stutterheim in *TBG* 79 (1939) p.78 suggests that *tirthāvṛtaṃ* can pertain either to *dvīpavaraṃ* or *sthānaṃ*. This is not probably correct. The first rib of the verse ends with *Kanakākaraiḥ*, because the very next one begins with *tad* (=that island) and ends with *upārjitaṃ*. The third one runs from "*Śrīmat .....adbhutaṃ*". My translation given above follows this context and structure of the Śloka.

    It is also not necessary to search for Gaṅgā of this inscription in Java. Because, according to Sanskritic and Javanese rituals, Gaṅgā could be invoked anywhere and any stream however insignificant could have then attained the sanctity of the Ganges. The case of Tuk Mas may be recalled in this connexion.

    Previous views re : Kuñjarakuñja may be studied in Krom, *op. cit* p.125 ; Kern, *op. cit* p. 122 ; *JGIS* III pp. 170-77 ; Stutterheim, *op. cit* p.75 ff.
39. Cf. Chhabra, *op. cit.* p.36.
40. *Tataḥ* in the text can also mean : 'who rose thereupon.' Many instances can be cited from Sanskrit literature in favour of this use of *tataḥ*. Besides, the clear statement in 1.23 "sūnusannāhanāmnaḥ" confirms the rendering given above.

41. The exploits of Raghu were popularised by Kālidāsa. See *Raghuvaṃśaṃ* IV. 26-88.
42. On the circle of kings, see Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* : BK. VII-VIII.
43. If we fill in the lacuna of the text as : "sūnussannāhanāmnassvasura(savaivanyā)yataśśāsti rājyam, "we can not translate the verse in the light of Vogel's ingenious suggestion as quoted by Chhabra in *JASBL* I p.37, viz., "he, the son of the sister of the (person) named Sannāha, is (now) ruling the kingdom justly. Vogel's interpretation is apparently corroborated by the fact that the list of Matarām kings, as given in the Kĕdu inscription (*TBG*, 67 p.172 ff.) opens with Sañjaya, and not with Sannāha. If Sañjaya had been Sannāha's son - and not the son of Sannāha's sister—the list of Matarām kings should have opened with Sannāha. This argument is not however as formidable as it appears at first sight. As a matter of fact, this phenomenon seems to lend corroboration to the theory of Dr. Bosch described earlier. It may be stated in that context that since Sañjaya installed the Siva-liṅga—Sannāha is not known to have installed any—and since this *liṅga* thereby became the protector of the dynasty, posterity looked upon this founder of Śivaliṅga viz. Sañjaya as the real founder of the dynasty. If this interpretation explains the omission of Sannāha from the Kĕdu-list, there remains no other independent testimony to justify the conjectural interpretation of the verse by "the son of the sister of the person named Sannāha.....' Besides, it may be pertinently asked : many Javanese inscriptions have referred to lesser princesses ; why did the poet, who devoted so many verses to the eulogy of Sannāha and Sañjaya could not spare a single word either for the name or in praise of the so-called "sister."

A "sister" changing a dynastic line and happening to be the Queen - mother of Sañjaya was not an ordinary person to be omitted by the court - poet. In addition to these circumstances, the following considerations urge the cancellation of the previous interpretation and acceptance of the translation given above. Firstly, the word *Yastato* occurring in Sloka 10 can very well mean "The one who sprang from him" i.e. from Sannāha. Secondly, the 11th Śloka describes him as *sūnuḥsannāhanāmnaḥ* i.e. the son of the person named Sannāha. Thirdly, tradition as embodied in the *Carita Parahyangan* (*TBG*, 59, pp. 403, 416 ff.) describes Sañjaya as the son of sĕna (Sanna).

Some scholars (for instance Krom, *Geschiedenis*, 2nd ed. p. 123-4) suggested previously that king Sañjaya ruled *with* his sister ; if so, the poet was bound to use the third case - ending for *svasṛ*. The use of the sixth case ending shows that the word is connected with *sūnu*. Secondly, the very next verse opens with *yasmiñchasa(ti)*. If Sañjaya ruled with his sister, this should have been coached in the dual number. The use of the singular number indicates that he ruled alone.

IV

THE STONE OF KAÑJURUHA (DINAJA) 682 SAKA

A fragment of this inscription was found in 1904 by Mr. Leydie Melville at Dinaja, a village to the north-west of Malang in the residency of Pasuruhan. About 1923, Mr. C. W. Maurenbrecher, Controller B. B. of Malang, received the information that in *desa* Merjosari, a place to the north west of Malang, two stone fragments have been found. On close examination they appeared to be the long lost upper and lower portions of the Dinaja inscription.[1] So the inscription is now quite complete. The stone is now preserved at the Batavia Museum where it is numbered D.113. A photo of the first fragment forms Oudh. Comm. no. 743,[2] while a facsimile of it has been published in *OJO* (pl.1). The complete facsimile was published by Dr. Bosch[3] in 1924.

Dr. Brandes[4] wrote a notice of this inscription as early as 1904. He remarked that the stone is of extreme importance, both because it dates from 682 śaka as also because it is the oldest inscription written in the Old Javanese script. The first transcription of the fragment found in 1904 was made by the same scholar, and it was published in 1913 as no. 1 in *OJO*. Three years later Dr. Bosch offered a revised reading of the inscription,[5] whereto additions and corrections were made in 1923.[6] As the lost fragments of this inscription were discovered in this year, Dr. Bosch[7] published a transcription of these portions in 1924 with elaborate critical notes. The complete transcription was, however, published by Poerbatjaraka.[8] De Casparis[9] has offered a fresh reading and translation of the inscription with elaborate notes.

The inscription of Dinaja is usually designated as the earliest specimen of the Old Javanese script. It has, however, close similarity with the alphabets of the Canggal inscription, wherefrom the Dinaja inscription mainly differs in such letters as *ra*[10] and *sa*, particularly in the former. All other forms being more or less similar, there is no necessity of seeking the home-land of this so-called Old-Javanese script in India proper :[11] it may be regarded as a natural evolution of the Canggal-script.

The record measuring 1.10 M. in height, has been indistinctly written in 26 lines. Several places of this inscription cannot also be read now, as some letters on the disjointed places have completely disappeared. All other places can be read with some difficulty.

The record opens with an account of a royal dynasty, at the head of which we find Devasiṃha. He was followed by his son Limva who was also known as Gajayāna.[12] It was Gajayāna who founded a temple of Agastya and established there the image of the great seer, made of black marble, with the help of the officiating priests and others. Of the religious persons, particular mention has been made of *Yati-s* and *Veda*-knowing priests. The reference to a guest-house, evidently meant for pilgrims, is also highly interesting, as it tends to show the excellent arrangement made in religious matters. According to Damais,[13] the date of the inscription corresponds to 28th Nov., 760 A.D.

The inscription is written in 9 stanzas of Sanskrit verses and the following metres have been used :

Vv. 1-3 Anuṣṭubh 3-5, 8-9, Vasantatilaka ; 6-7, Sragdharā. The language is more or less grammatically correct.

TEXT.

1. svasti śakavarṣātīta[14] 682
2. āsīt narapatiḥ dhīmān[15] devasiṃhaḥ pra-
3. tāpavān yena gupt(ā)[16] purī bhāti pūtikeśva-
4. rapāvitā ‖ limvaḥ api[18] tanayaḥ tasya gajayānaḥ[19]
5. iti smṛtaḥ rarakṣa svarggate[20] tāte puraṃ
   kāñjuruham mahān ‖ [21]
6. limvasya duhitā jajñe pradaputrasya[22] bhūpateḥ[23] utteja-
7. nā iti[24] mahiṣī jananīyasya dhīmataḥ ‖ *ā*nandanaḥ[25] kalaśa-
8. je bhagavati agastye[26] bhaktaḥ[27] dvijātihitakṛd
   gajayānanā(mā)
9. pauraiḥ[28] sanāyakagaṇaiḥ samakārayat tad ramyaṃ maha-
10. ṛṣibhavanaṃ valahājiri-yaḥ[29] ‖
    pūrvvaiḥ kṛtāṃ tu suradārumayī(ṃ)

11. samīkṣya kīrttipriyaḥ[30] *ka*lasaja*a*pratimām[31] manasvī ājñā-
12. pya śilpinamaram saḥ[32] *ca*[33] dīrghadarśśī[34]
    kṛṣṇādbhutopalaṃa-
13. yīṃ nṛpatiḥ cakāra[35] ‖ rājñāgastyaḥ śakābde nayanavasu[36]
14. rase mārggaśīrṣe ca māse ārdra(ṛ)kṣe[37] śukravāre pratipa-
15. dadivase[38] pakṣasandhau dhruve[39] ṛtvigbhiḥ
    vedavidbhiḥ yativara[40]
16. sahitaiḥ sthāpakādyaiḥ sahoraiḥ[41] karmajñaiḥ
    kumbhalagne sudṛḍha-[42]
17. matimatā sthāpitaḥ kumbhayoniḥ ‖ kṣetraṃ gāvaḥ
    supuṣṭāḥ mahiṣa-
18. gaṇayutāḥ dāsadāsīpurogāḥ[43] dattā rājñā
    maharṣipravaracaruha-
19. vissnāna*sa*mvarddhanādi[44] vyāpārārthaṃ dvijānāṃ
    bhavanamapi vṛhat[45]
20. *dan*turam[46] ca adbhutaṃ ca[47] viśrambhāya atithīnāṃ[48]
    yavayavi-
21. kaśayyācchādanaiḥ[49] suprayuktam ‖ ye bāndhavāḥ
    nṛpasutāḥ ca[50]
22. samantrimukhyāḥ[51] dattau nṛpasya yadi te
    pratikulacittāḥ[52] nāsti-
23. kyadoṣakuṭilāḥ[53] narake pateyuḥ na amutra[54]
    ceha ca gatim
24. paramāṃ labhante ‖ vaṃśyāḥ nṛpasya rucitāḥ[56] yadi
    dattivṛddhau āstikya-
25. śuddhamatayaḥ *kṛta*viprapūjāḥ[57] dānādyapuṇyayajanād-
    dhyayanā-
26. diśīlāḥ[58] rakṣantu rājya(m) *atula*ṃ[59] nṛpatiḥ yathā evam ‖

TRANSLATION

Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 682.

1. There was a wise and mighty lord of men (named) Devasiṃha, by whom protected[60] the capital-city[61] sanctified by Pūtikeśvara illuminates[63] (all directions).
2. His son Limva was known as Gajayāna.[64] (That) great one protected the capital-city (called) Kañjuruha when his father went to heaven.
3. Limva had a daughter born unto him ; she is Uttejanā and is the consort of the wise king Jananīya, son of Prada.[65]
4. (That king) of the name of Gajayāna, who was well-supplied (?) with royal servants,[66] to whom the Divine Pitcher-born Agastya was a delight and who was devoted, who was the benefactor of the twice-born, had, with (the help of) citizens working under their leaders, caused to be built that beautiful abode of the Great Seer.
5. The high-minded and far-sighted king who was a lover of fame, having seen the image of the pitcher-born one founded by (his) predecessors[67] to be made of *Devadāru* wood, ordered the sculptor and got beautifully prepared an image in black and wonderful marble.
6. In the Śaka year 682 in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, while the lunar mansion was Ārdrā, on Friday, at the juncture of the two fortnights or surely on the first day of the lunar cycle, in the *lagna* of Kumbha, was installed by the king of firm disposition (the image of) Kumbhayoni (i.e. Agastya)[68] with (the help of) the officiating priests versed in the *Vedas* and adept in rituals, together with the best of *Yati*-s (ascetics), and the astrologers, the sculptors and others.
7. Land, well-fed cows, together with herds of buffaloes, with male and female servants at the front—(all these) were given by the king to provide for the *caru* and *havis*—offerings, ablution and worship of the foremost of the great seers[69] as well as a big rest-house for the guests of the twice-born class, strange-looking with teeth-like decorations[70] and furnished with covers of barley-straw beds.
8. If the relatives and sons of the king, with the principal ministers, being polluted by unbelief, do have a revolting attitude towards the king's gifts, they will go to hell and would not attain bliss, either in this world or in the next.

9. If the descendants of the king are disposed to augment the gifts, with their minds purified by faith, if they worship the Brahmins and are accustomed to perform meritorious acts like the making of gifts, performance of sacred rites and the study (of the sacred lore), —may they protect the kingdom just like the (present) king.

FOOTNOTES

1. *OV*, 1923, p. 88 ; *TBG*, 64 (1924) p.227.
2. *Rapp.*, 1911, p.98.
3. *TBG*, 64 (1924) p. 228.
4. *Rapp.*, 1904, p. 9.
5. *TBG*, 57 (1916) pp. 410-444.
6. *OV*, 1923, pp. 29-35
7. *TBG*, 64 (1924) pp. 227 ff.
8. *Agastya*, pp. 52 ff.
9. *TBG*, 81 (1941) pp.499 ff.
10. The *ra* has sometimes been written without the *serif*. This characteristic was present in Northern Indian epigraphy long before the eight century A.D. and may be considered to be an archaic type.
11. Brandes (*Ency. Ned. Ind.*, III 2nd. ed.) sought the origin of the *Kavi*-script in Girnār (Gujerat) alphabets, but he has been plausibly criticised by Krom in *Geschiedenis*, pp. 138 ff.
12. Some have identified him with Ki-yen of Chinese annals (Vide Poerbatjaraka, *Agastya* pp. 109-10), but there are grave difficulties re : this identification. Regarding discussion on this matter, See Krom, *Geschiedenis* 2nd. ed. pp.141-42 ; Majumdar, *Suravṇadvipa*, pp. 249-50 ; Coedès, *Les etats hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie* (1948) pp. 156-7. The name Ki-yen is least likely to correspond to the Javanese official title *(ra)kryan*, as R. A. Kern (*BKI*, 102, 1943, p. 545) seems to imagine, because the latter term is generally rendered in Chinese by Lo-ki-lien, Vide Krom, *Geschiedenis* 2nd. ed. p. 283 and coedès, *op. cit.*, p. 157 f.n. 3.
13. *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 23 (table).
14. Read : °tīṭaḥ or °ūte. The above form however occurs all along in Jav. inscriptions.
15. Read : āsīnnarapatirdhī°.
16. De Casparis (=DC) : *guptā*.
17. B : parībhāti. Bosch : (=B) gupta(ḥ).
18. Read : limvo'pi.
19. Read : °na.

20. Thus reads Vogel (*OV*, 1923 p.30). B. originally read : swarggage.
21. This portion was originally read as : sutāñ purusān mahā°, but this violates the metre. DC reads : pura*ṃ* kañja*ṃ*ruhan mahat. I tried to read the word as : kāḍutuhan=kraton. From grammatical point of view, the reading of °ruhan is wrong.
22. DC reads : °putrā. If there be any ā at all, it falls on the broken joint of the fragments.
23. Read : °ter.
24. Read : °neti.
25. DC's reading.
26. Read : °tyagastye
27. Read : bhakto.
28. B. first read it as maunaiḥ. Vogel (*OV*, 1923, p. 30) appears to be correct in offering the reading given above.
29. Poerbatjaraka (*Agastya* p. 52) suggests : °rim yaḥ. B's reading of °ri*bh*yaḥ was doubted by Vogel (*op. cit*). DC reads : °ri*dh*yaḥ. According to Damais (*BEFEO* 46, 1952, p. 23 f.n. 3) the word is : °riḍyaḥ. No reading appears satisfactory to me nor are they very intelligible.
30. Poerbatjaraka (*Agastya*, p. 52) mis-reads it as : °rti°.
31. So reads Vogel (*OV*, 1923, p. 30), It was previously read as : *talagata°*.
32. Read : *Sa*.
33. Vogel (*op. cit.*) first suggested this reading. *cf.* this word with *ca* in 1,14. Can it, after all, be *tu* ?
34. Poerbatjaraka (*op. cit.*) misreads it as : °r§ī.
35. Read : *nṛpatiścakāra*.
36. Poerbatjaraka's (*op. cit.*) reading of °wayu° is unreasonable.
37. The reading of ārdrarthe by Bosch (*TBG*, 57, p. 411 ff.) and ārdrā° by Poerbatjaraka (*op. cit.*) appears to be incorrect. I do not also read ārdhra,° such as Vogel reads (*OV. op. cit.*) *Ṛkṣa* is a synonym of *nakṣatra*.
38. According to grammar : *pratipaddi*.°
39. Vogel (*op. cit.*) suggests here *vā* which appears to have the force of *ca*.
40. Read : °bhirvedavidbhiryati.°
41. Bosch (*op. cit.*) and Poerbatjaraka (*op. cit.*) read : °maunaiḥ. Sapauraiḥ was suggested by Vogel (*op. cit.*). Damais however thinks this reading to be impossible and reads *sahoraiḥ* (*BEFEO*, 46, p. 23 f.n. 3). According to him, the letter in question has similarity with *ha is Valahāji*, and hence the word is to be read as *sahoraiḥ*. i.e. with astrologer. The reading of Damais appears probable to me.
42. *Su* omitted by DC.
43. Read : °puṣṭā, °yutā and °purogā. Bosch (*op. cit.*) read °dāsi°, which is obviously a printing mistake.
44. DC : sam*m*ārjanādi. To me, the reading of °m*m*ā° seems to be very improbable, as the compound *va* seems to be distinct. I would have preferred the reading of the compound as °*hvā*°, thus snāna āhvāyanādi, but the reading of ā seems very doubtful. So I stick to the older reading.
45. DC reads : Vṛhat ; previous reading was : gṛham.

46. *Danturam* is the reading of DC.
47. Read : danturañcādbhutañca.
48. B : °tithi°.
49. B's reading of °śayya° (*op. cit.*) and Poerbatjaraka's reading of °śayā° (*op. cit.*) seem to be wrong, as otherwise the metre will break down here.
50. Read : bāndhavā nṛpasutāśca.
51. Read : °khyā.
52. Read : °cittā.
53. Read : kuṭilā.
54. Read : pateyurnāmutra.
55. This is the reading of DC.
56. B reads °dhitāḥ, which is perhaps wrong. cf. *ca* in the preceding line.
57. This is the reading of DC.
58. Read : °ādhyayanādi°. According to Kern (*OV* 1923, p. 29) the above-mentioned spelling of the word is a common mistake in South-Indian documents.
59. DC.
60. Later inscriptions will indicate that a dead (=apotheosised) king not only protected the *Kratons* but also created freeholds.
61. This probably corresponds to the *kaḍatuan* (kraton) of Old.-Jav. inscriptions. DC. translates the word by 'kingdom'. He also suggests that this *puram* may be represented by modern Kĕjuron. Regarding *Purim*, *Puram* and *Kaḍatuan*, see Damais in *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 22 f. n. 3.
62. This is the special form of Śiva-Rudra. See *TBG*, *op. cit.*, pp. 231 ff. 280 ff. Deity of Pūteśvara is referred to below in the Copperplates of Mantyasih I (Kĕdu), 829 Śaka.
63. The use of the present tense is noteworthy.
64. He is supposed by some to be identical with Ki-yen of the Chinese annals. See Groeneveldt, *Notes* p. 13 ; Poerbatjaraka, *Agastya* p. 109. See Damais, *TBG*, 83 (1949) pp. 24:25 for comments as also f.n.12 above.
65. No other alternative translation of this verse seems to be possible. Some previous scholars dragged in Ānandana from the following verse to read : Jananī yasya dhīmataḥ ānandanaḥ." See *TBG* 67 p. 472 in this connexion. But both the context and the metre end with *dhīmataḥ*. So it will be arbitrary to drag in *ānandanaḥ* from the next verse composed in Vasantatilaka metre to make him the off-spring of Uttejanā in the preceding verse composed in Anuṣṭubh-metre. As a matter of fact, *ānandanaḥ* is an adjective to Gajayāna occurring in the same verse and is accordingly in the nominative case. I therefore disagree from the views of Poerbatjaraka (*op. cit* p. 53) and Bosch (*TBG* 67 p. 472) in this matter. It would have been much better if Bosch had stuck to his previous views on Prada(putra) and Jananīya as given in *TBG* 64 p. 230. His translation of the verse tallies with ours :

The latest translation is by DC (*TBG*, 81 pp. 501, 504-505) : "Limva had a daughter born unto him, the king being gifted with a progeny who became the consort of the wise Jananīya." This translation seems to be indefensible from grammatical points of view. As a *duhitā* cannot be called a *pradaputrā* (because the feminine of *putra* is *putrī* and not *putrā*. Even if the medial *ā* be visible on the facsimile, which I do not see, then the Sandhi-rule will

make the compound equivalent to pradaputra+asya=pradaputrāsya and not putrā+asya, as the word putrā is grammatically wrong); so the translation of the latter word by "being gifted with a progency" is untenable. That being so, all the genitive cases such as pradaputrasya, bhūpateḥ, Jananīyasya and dhīmataḥ must refer to the same person i.e. Jananīya. DC moreover omits Uttejanā from his translation. On the one hand he says that pradaputra is the adjective of Uttejanā, on the other hand he makes it the adjective of Limva in his translation: ("Limwa werd een dochter geboren, nakomelingschap schenkend aan dien vorst, die de echtgenoote werd van den wijzen Jananīya."

If the reading is Pradaputra, then the following constructions are possible:

(i). Limvasya duhitā jajñe | pradaputrasya dhīmataḥ bhūpateḥ jananīyasya (sā) uttejanā iti mahiṣī.

(ii). Limvasya duhitā jajñe | dhīmataḥ bhūpateḥ pradaputrasya jananīyasya (sā) uttejanā iti mahiṣī.

(iii). Dhīmataḥ bhūpateḥ pradaputrasya limvasya (here Prada=Devasiṃha in the same way as Limva=Gajayāna) duhitā jajñe | jananīyasya (sā) uttejanā iti mahiṣī.

(iv). Bhūpateḥ pradaputrasya limvasya duhitā jajñe | (sā) dhīmataḥ jananīyasya uttejanā iti mahiṣī.

If *visarga* is deemed to have been omitted after Prada through mistake, the construction would be:

Limvasya duhitā jajñe | Pradaḥ putrāsya bhūpateḥ | uttejanā iti mahiṣī yasya dhīmataḥ jananī.

I would have preferred this as the best translation, because it gives a complete genealogy of the family. Thus "Limva had a daughter born unto him; that king's (i.e. Limva's) son was Prada; the queen named Uttejanā was the mother of that wise one (i.e. Limva)." Secondly, the very name Jananīya is, in itself, rather extraordinary.

If the word be Pradaputrā, then the following construction is possible:

Limvasya duhitā jajñe | asya dhīmataḥ bhūpateḥ jananīyasya pradaputrā uttejanā iti mahiṣī.

Translation: "Limva had a daughter born unto him. That wise king Jananīya's queen was known as Uttejanā, who was gifted with a son."

This translation is objectionable, because the pronoun *asya* should refer to the person previously named, but here it refers to Jananīya. If it refers to Limva, the construction does not yield any sense.

In view of these difficulties, I have accepted the translation given above.

66. In old-Jav. *valahāji* may mean 'royal servants' which may be intended here. The interpretation of the term by Poerbatjaraka (*Agastya* p. 54) and de Casparis (*TBG*, 81, p. 501) does not also appear satisfactory to me. Valahājiridhyaḥ does not appear to me to be the name of the abode of the Seer, as Prof. de Casparis suggests. As the word is in the nominative case, it must qualify Gajayāna, and not maharṣibhavanaṃ.

67. It is generally held that the cult of Agastya, which is closely associated with the worship of Śiva, came from Southern India. Now, it has been stated in our inscription that one of the ancestors of king Limva had established an image of the great Seer. If so, the date of that ancestor should be at least

682 Śaka minus 25 years, i.e., 657 Saka. As the Canggal inscription mentions that king Sañjaya founded in 654 Śaka a Śiva-*liṅga* (which is connected with the cult of Agastya), it appears probable that the cult of Agastya was introduced at Dinaja at least in the middle of the 7th Śaka century.

68. Regarding the translation of this portion, with notes, by de Casparis [*TBG*, 81 (1941) p. 501, 506-7] see the comments of Damais in *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 22 f.n.2. I hope the riddle of *dhruve vā* is solved by the translation given above.

69. By *maharṣipravara* obviously the great seer Agastya has been intended.

70. The word *danturam* occurs in many places of Sanskrit literature, for instance, in the hymns to goddess Kāli, consort of Śiva. The word used above obviously refers to what the Dutch Archaeologists call the *Kālamakara*-motif. It is the combination of two different *motifs*, viz the Kāla and the Makara. The monstrous Kāla-head is an effigy of the awful god Kāla. It is really adopted from the Indian *motif* of a lion's head and Coomaraswami rightly describes it as a grotesque *Kīrttimukha*. The projecting teeth on two sides of the conventional Kīrttimukha or Kālamakara *motif* occurring almost everywhere in Java, either over the gateway, in the centre of an enclosing arch, above the niche or in the interior of the building gave a distinctive feature to the guest-house which has accordingly been called—not inappropriately—*danturam* (having teeth-like decorations) and *adbhutam* (strange-looking). For a description see Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa* II pp. 169-70.

V

THE STONE OF KALASAN, 700 ŚAKA

This stone was found at Kalasan, in the plains of Prambanan, to the east of Jogjakarta, and is known to us for nearly 75 years. This important record which once belonged to the collection of Dieduksman[1] at Jogjakarta was long believed to be lost, and has been traced to Jogjakarta through the efforts of Mr. Van Stein Callenfels, Mrs. Resink-Wilkens and Mr. Van Erp, and is now deposited in the Batavia Museum as D. 147.[2]

In the month of February, 1886, Dr. Brandes communicated a provisional summary of its contents at a meeting of the Batavia Society[3] and published, in the same year,[4] a transcription of the record with a translation of some portions of the text. In the following year, on receipt of a photo of this inscription from Mr. Baum Garten of Batavia, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar[5] published another edition of the record accompanied by a translation. The inscription has been re-edited with text and translation by Dr. Bosch[6] who has also published, for the first time, an excellent facsimile of the inscription. A photo of this record has also been mentioned in *Notulen*, 1886, p. 55 and this forms no. 873 at the Batavia Society.

The record has been beautifully and legibly incised on a stone with fourteen lines of writing. It measures, across the breadth, 68 c.m. The script of this record wholly differs from that of earlier inscriptions and is incised in what was called "Nāgarī"-character in previous publications; it is now described as the Pre-Nāgarī script.[7] Dr. Bhandarkar remarked in 1887 that the characters of this record have similarity with those of the Northern Indian characters between the 8th and 11th centuries and that the execution is almost exactly like that of the record found at Ghosrāva, near Nālandā in Magadha.[8] It is also a highly noticeable fact, when we compare Javanese pre-Nāgarī inscriptions with those of India belonging to the same family, that these records of Java not only do not betray any archaic form, but on the otherhand present some characteristics which were just coming in use or were in an embryonic stage in Northern India.[9]

This phenomenon may be attributed to the close cultural connexion that subsisted between India and Indonesia during the period of the Śailendra monarchs.

The inscription which opens with a laudatory verse to Tārā describes the foundation of a splendid temple of the goddess by the *guru*-s of the Śailendra-king after they had persuaded H. M. Pañcapaṇa Paṇaṃkaraṇa. Mention is also made of the construction of an image of the deity and a dwelling-place for the monks who knew the Great Vehicle of Discipline. All these were done by the *ādeśaśastrin*-s, viz., *pangkur*, *tavān* and *tīrip*, in the prosperous reign of the king who was an ornament of the Śailendra-dynasty. This happened in Śaka 700. On this occasion, the village Kālasa was granted to the congregation of monks.

It is quite probable that the temple mentioned in this inscription is the well-known *Caṇḍi* Kalasan.[10] Vestiges in the immediate neighbourhood of this temple may, according to Krom,[11] indicate the site of the monks' residence which has been incidentally referred to in our inscription. The name to the village Kālasa is also preserved in modern Kalasan where the inscription has been discovered. Reference must also be made of Kariyāna Paṇaṃkaraṇa Śrīmān whose name has been found[12] in a list of Matarām kings preserved in a Kĕdu-inscription, but his relationship with his predecessor Sañjaya remains quite obscure. The circumstances must however be deemed favourable, as so much corroborative and supplementary data have reached the hands of the historian.

The inscription has been written in twelve stanzas of Sanskrit verses and the following metres have been used. V. 1 Vasantatilaka; 2 Udgīti; 3-8, 12 Āryā; 10 Śālinī; 11 Upendravajrā. V. 9 is irregular.

TEXT.

namo bhagavatyai āryatārāyai ॥

1. yā tārayatyamitaduḥkhabhavābdhimagnaṃ[13] lokaṃ
vilokya[14] vidhivattrividhairu[15][2]payaiḥ[16] |
sā vaḥ surendranaralokavibhūtisāraṃ tārā[17]
diśatvabhimataṃ jagadekatārā ॥

2. āvarjya[18] mahārājaṁ *dyāḥ* [1]ṁ pañca[3]paṇaṁ[20]
paṇaṁkaraṇaṁ ।
śaile[n]drarāj[a]gurubhistārābhavanaṁ hi kāritaṁ śrīmat ॥
3. gurvājñayā kṛtajñaistārādevī[4]kṛtāpi [s]dbh[i] [y]nam ।
vinayamahā[ja]yānavidāṁ bhavanaṁ cāpyāryabhikṣūṇāṁ ॥
4. paṅkuratav[a]nātiripa[21][5]nāmabhirādeśaśastribhirājñaḥ ।
tārābhavanaṁ kāritamidaṁ mapi[22] cāpyāryabhikṣūṇām ॥
5. rājye pravarddhamā[6]ne rājñaḥ śailen[dr]avaṁśatilak[a]sya[23] ।
śailendrarājaguru[bhi]s tārābhavanaṁ kṛtaṁ kṛtibhiḥ ॥
6. śakanṛpakālātītai[24][7]rvarṣaśataiḥ saptabhir-
mmahārājaḥ ।
akarodgurupūjārthaṁ tārā[bh]avanaṁ p[ā]ṇaṁkaraṇaḥ ॥
7. grāmaḥ kā[la]sanāmā[25][8][d]dattaḥ saṁghāya sākṣiṇaḥ
[kī]rttvā ।
paṅkuratavānatiripadeśādhyakṣān mahāpuruṣān ।
8. bhurada[26][9]kṣineyam atulā dattā saṁghāya rājasiṁhena ।
śailendravaṁśabhūpair anuparipālyāryasantatyā[27] ॥
9. [10] sang[28] p[a]ngkurādi[bh]iḥ santavānakādibhiḥ ।
sang tiripād[i]bhiḥ pa[ti]ś[c]a[39] sādhubhiḥ । api ca ॥
10. [11] sarvānevāgāminaḥ pārthivendrān bhūyo bhūyo
yācate rājasiṁhaḥ ।
sāmānyoyaṁ dharmmaseturna[12]rāṇāṁ kāle kāle
pālanīyo bhavadbhiḥ ॥
11. anena puṇyena vihārajena pratītya jātārthavibhāga-
vi[13]jñāḥ ।
bhavantu sarve tribhavopapannā[30] janā jinānām-
anuśāsanajñāḥ[31] ॥
12. kariyānapaṇaṁkaraṇaḥ śri[14]mānabhiyācate bhāvinṛpān[32] ।
bhūyo bhūyo vidhivadvihāraparipālanārthamiti[33] ॥

TRANSLATION.

Salutation to the divine Ārya-Tārā !

1. May she, who, seeing the world immersed in the sea of existence, duly delivers it through the three means, may she, Tārā, the only guiding-star of the world, grant you (your) desire (consisting of) the best part of the wealth[34] of the celestial and the mundane worlds.
2. After persuading the great king *dyah* Pañcapaṇa, (the rakryan) Paṇaṁkaraṇa, the splendid temple of Tārā[35] was caused to be built by the preceptors of the Śailendra-king.[36]
3. By experts,[37] at the command of the preceptors, were made (the image of) the goddess Tārā and a temple for her ; so also was made an abode for the venerable monks (bhikṣu) who knew the Great Vehicle of Discipline.
4. By the *ādeśaśastrin-s*[38] of the king named *pangkur, tavan* and *tirip*,[39] this temple of Tārā as also (the abode) of the venerable monks (*bhikṣu*) were caused to be built.
5. As the kingdom of the king who is the ornament of the Śailendra-dynasty was flourishing, the Tārā-temple was constructed by the accomplished preceptors of the Śailendra-king.
6. When seven centuries of the era of the śaka king had elapsed, the great king, (the *rakryan*) Paṇaṁkaraṇa built the Tārā-temple for the worship of (his) preceptors (to the deity).[40]
7. The village named Kālasa was bestowed on the congregation, after calling as witnesses the notable persons such as *pangkur, tawan, tirip* and the headmen of villages.
8. By the lion of kings was also bestowed on the congregation this incomparable gift in ample measure (?)[41] which is to be protected by kings of the Śailendra-dynasty, by the nobility,
9. by *Pangkur* and his followers, *tawan* and his followers, *tirip* and his followers, *pati-s*[42] and all religious persons[43] (for all ages).
10. The lion of kings again and again makes this request to all the future kings, "this bridge of religion[44] which is the common property of (all) men should be protected by you at all times."[45]
11. Through the merit accruing from (the construction of) the *vihāra*,[46]

may all people who are subject to the three forms of existence (*tribhavopapannā*) and who are proficient in the teachings of the Jinas obtain a (true) insight into the division of things originating from the chain of causation.[47]

12. The illustrious *Kariyāna*[48] Paṇaṃkaraṇa again and again requests the future kings to maintain the *vihāra* in a proper way.

FOOTNOTES

1. Verbeek, *Oudheden* p. 164.
2. *TBG* 68 (1928) p. 57.
3. *Notulen*, 1886, p. 25.
4. *TBG*, 31 (1886) pp. 240-260.
5. *JBBRAS*, 17 (1887-89) pp. 1-10.
6. *TBG*, 68 (1928) pp. 3-16, 57-62 and Pl. II. For other references of this inscription see *Notulen*, 1892, p. 91 and 1893, p 12; *Rapp.* 1901, p. 16; *Notulen*, 1911, p. 43; *OV*, 1925 pp. 19, 87; *Ibid*, 1926, pp. 64-67.
7. Bosch in *TBG*, 68 (1928) pp. 3-16.
8. *IA*, XVII, p. 307. Bosch also notes that this script, with minor variations, has been used in the Khālimpur plate of king Dharmmarāla (*EI*, IV, p 243 ff.) the Mungir and the Nālandā charters of Devapāla (*IA*, XXI, p. 253 ff, *EI*, XVII, p. 310) and in the Nepalese inscriptions between the 9th and 10th centuries.
9. *TBG*, 68 (1928) pp. 13-14.
10. If so, the image of Tārā, perhaps a bronze colossus of 6 M. (to judge by the vacant throne of the deity), has vanished. See Krom, *Inleiding* I. pp. 257-264.
11. *Geschiedenis*, p. 136. See also *OV*, 1929, p. 138.
12. *TBG*, 67 (1927) pp. 212-215.
13. Br.: bhavāt tiryag na. (Br. =Brandes).
14. Br.: lokavilokya.
15. Br.: after vidhivat, hiaat of three syllables.
16. Br. °pāyaḥ.
17. Br.: after tārādi hiaat of two syllables.
18. B.: °ja. (B. =Bosch).
19. This is suggested by B.
20. Br.: ā. mahārā ...pañca°; Bh: āvarjya mahārājaṃ...paṇaṃ (Bh=Bhandarkar).
21. These names have been mis-read by Bh. throughout the inscription.
22. B. is certainly mistaken in reading the above as °midamapi, though this has to be corrected as such. The *anusvāra* above the *serif* of *da*, and the *ma* after *da* are unmistakable.

23. Bh.: śailendravarmatanujasya, which is clearly a mistake.
24. B.: śaknṛ°, which may be a printing mistake.
25. Bh.: kolaga(śa ?), which is an obvious error.
26. Bh.: bhūda.° This gives a good sense, but the reading is impossibile.
27. Br.: anaparipālyāryamantavyā.
28. Br.: saṇ.
29. Br.: patnibhiśca.
30. Bh.: vibhavo°. *Tri* is quite clear on the facsimile.
31. Bh.: anuśāsanasthāḥ. *jñā*° is distinct on the plate.
32. B.: ṇṛ.° The reading of *na* is certain.
33. B.: 'hāraparāpari' is evidently a printer's mistake.
34. English phraseology does not convey the exact significance of the word *vibhūti* and we use the above word for want of a better one.
35. Dr. Stutterheim surmised (*A Javanese period* etc., pp. 8ff) that princess Tārā of the Nālandā inscription (*EI*, XVII, p. 310) who has been described as the consort of Samarāgravīra is no other than Tārā of the present inscription and that she is the apotheosised queen of Paṇaṃkaraṇ. As his hypothesis is mainly based upon Paṇaṃkaraṇ=Samarāgravīra and princess Tārā= deified Tārā, none of which can be proved and whereof one is adduced to support the other, the hypothesis presents nothing to commend itself. His another surmise to support the above hypothesis, viz., Dharmmasetu=Dharmmapāla, has been proved to be wrong on independent testimony in a subsequent note.
36. Among earlier inscriptions, the Śailendras are mentioned in Face B of the Ligor inscription, dated after 775 A.D. (*BEFEO*, XVIII, 6, App.1, pp.29 ff.); the Kelurak inscription, dated 782 A.D. (*TBG*, 68, pp. 1-56) and the Nālandā copper-plate dated in the 39th year of king Devapāla (*EI*, XVII, p. 310; it was also published as a *Memoir of the Varendra Research Society* by N. G. Majumdar). Regarding the origin of the Śailendra-dynasty and its connexion with the Śrīvijaya-empire, reference may be made to: Coedès in *BEFEO*, 6 (1918); Vogel in *BKI*, 75 (1919); Krom in *De Sumatraansche periode der Javaansche Geschiedenis* (1919); Ferrand in *JA* 11 : XX(1922); Stutterheim in *A Javanese period in Sumatran History* (1929); Krom in *Geschiedenis* (1931); Majumdar in *BEFEO* XXXIII (1933) and in *JGIS* Vols I-II (1934-35); Coedès in *JGIS* I (1934) and Przyluski in *Ibid* II (1935), F.H. Van Naerssen in *India Antiqua* 1947 pp. 249-53. See also Coedès, *Les États hindouisés d' Indochine et d'Indonesie* (2nd ed) 1948; K.A. Nilkanta Shastri, *History of Srivijaya* (1949).
37. The word *Kṛtajña* corresponds to *Karmajña* of the Dinaja inscription. cf. Vogel in *BKI*, dl. 100, 1941. p. 444.
38. I think they have nothing to do with 'horoscope-makers' or 'foretellers', such as Brandes supposed. As the word is °*śastrin* and not °*śāstrin*, these persons appear to be connected with 'weapons.'
39. This is the first mention of these persons in the inscriptions of Java. They have been later on grouped with the *deśādhyakṣa*; they were undoubtedly

notable persons (*Mahāpuruṣān*), but their exact duties are not quite clear. They seem to be connected with the collection of *drabya haji* or royal dues. Hence they are forbidden from entering into freeholds for collection purposes. In receiving confirmation money and other gifts, they usually rank second class, but in one instance (86.1.9), at least, they are ranked sixth ; but here the classification is more meticulous. In No. 90. 16, Pangkur appears as a witness in law suit.

40. *Guru-pūjā* in the verse under discussion may also mean "the *pūjā* i.e. worship of the *guru* i.e. the deity to whom the king was devoted." In other words it refers to Tārā, who was the *iṣṭadevī* of the king.

41. I consider that the word *bhura* has been an unfortunate mistake of the scribe for *bhuri*, meaning 'many, sufficient, ample', etc. My supposition receives force from the fact that in Old-Jav. inscriptions, just at this place, we have *paśek pasek* which bears the significance of Skt. *bhuri*. *Bhuridakṣiṇā* is also frequently mentioned in Sanskrit.

42. A petty village-officer who is mentioned in many Old-Javanese inscriptions.

43. Bosch considers *sādhu* to be an adjective to *Pati* and translates accordingly.

44. The theory of Dr. Stutterheim (*A Javanese period*, etc., p.10 ff) that Dharmmasetu = Dharmmapāla is disproved in the following note on independent testimony. Meanwhile, it may be pointed out that the name of Dharmasetu in the Nālandā charter (*EI*, XVII, p.310) is due to an unfortunate misreading of the editor for Varmasetu.

45. This is an extremely stereotyped passage of ancient Indian inscriptions and it occurs everywhere in the self-same language. Reference may be made to the Kadamba inscription of Niralgi dated 996-97 Śaka (*EI*, XVI, p.71) : the records of the Somavaṃśī kings of Kaṭak (*EI*, III, pp.343, 353, 358) : the Vanapalli plates plates of Anna-Vema, 1300 Śaka-samvat (*EI*, III, p.63) ; the plate of Govindacandra of Kanauj, dated 1182 Vikrama-Samvat (*EI*, IV, pp. 99-101). For other references, see *EI*, V, p.19 ; *EI*, XVI, p. 228 ; *EI*, XVIII p. 232 ; *EI*, XX, p.69. The original distribution of these plates appears to be Eastern and Southern India including the Orissan tracts. The occurrence of this stereotyped passage in an inscription of the Śailendra-dynasty thus becomes interesting in connexion with the view of Dr. Majumder (*BEFEO*, XXXIII, pp. 140-141) that the Śailendras originated from Kaliṅga, which indeed forms an enclave between Eastern and Southern India.

46. The temple and the cloister. See also Bosch in *TBG*, 65, p. 565, f.n. 93 and *TBG*, 68, p. 61 f. n. 4.

47. This refers to the *pratītyasamutpāda* doctrine of the Buddhists. The twelve articles which form this doctrine attribute miseries of men to *avidyā* and other factors in the causal chain. For an exposition of this doctrine, see Poussin. *Theorie des douze causes*, pp 69 ff. ; Radhakrishnan, *Ind. Phil.*, 1. pp. 410 ff.

48. Vogel (*BKI*, 75, p. 634) recognised in this word the Sanskrit form of *rakarayān* usually written as *rakryan*, the well-known official title in ancient Java. See also the remarks of Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p. 136. Over *rake* and *rakryan*, see also Poerbatjaraka in *TBG*, 72, pp. 624-25 and Stutterheim in *TBG*, 73, pp. 162-166.

VI

THE STONE OF KĔLURAK, 704 SAKA.

This stone inscription was found at Kĕlurak in the north of *Caṇḍi* Loro Jonggrang of Prambanan[1] and was presented to the Batavia Society by Raden Saleh about 1868. It is now preserved in the Batavia Museum where it is numbered D.44.[2]

The first mention of this inscription is made in the *Notulen* for 1868, which records the accession of this stone to the Batavia Society through the intermediary of Raden Saleh. The exact find-spot of this record was described in an inventory of inscriptions,[3] which was published in 1876. In 1878, Burnell[4] took a very brief notice of this record and described it as "very illegible." It was Dr. Brandes[5] who first recognised the Buddhist character of this inscription and brought it to the notice of the Batavia Society with a provisional reading of the first verse.

The more complete description of this record was however furnished in the *Catalogus Groeneveldt*[6] (1887). We read there that the inscription is incised on a quadrangular stone of dusk-gray colour with fifteen (*read*, sixteen) lines of writing in Old Nāgarī script. The letters have been described to be very small and very illegible. The stone measures 45 c.m. in thickness. The inscription has been published with text, translation, facsimile and elaborate explanatory notes by Dr. Bosch.[7]

To Dr. Bosch[8] also belongs the credit of making a deep study of the palaeographical peculiarities of this inscription. It emerges from his researches that this Kĕlurak inscription, written in Pre-Nāgarī script, differs from the Kalasan inscription in some minor points, and stands closer to Pre-Nāgarī script of the main-land. The script is, however, neither elegant nor clear.

The record opens with a salutation to the three jewels. Some laudatory verses are then devoted to the four Īśvaras and to Lokeśa. It has been stated thereafter that king Indra,[9] one of whose titles is perhaps *Vairivaravīramardana*, was a great conqueror and an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty. Reference is then made to a preceptor of Gauḍīdvīpa who, it may be presumed, is identical with

Kumāraghoṣa mentioned in a later verse. But this is not certain. It was Kumāraghoṣa who established the image of Mañjuśrī in 704 Śaka. The writer states thereafter that Buddha, Dharmma and Saṃgha on the one hand, and Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara on the other hand are present in this image of Mañjuśrī. In the last strophe, only the name of Śrī Sanggrāmadhanañjaya is legible.

The inscription is of great importance from the religious point of view. It not only proves the cultural contact between Java and Bengal, but also tends to show the synthetic charcter of the Javanese Buddhism of that period.

The inscription has been written in twenty stanzas of Sanskrit verses and the following metres have been used : Vv. 1-2, Āryagīti ; 3, Ārya-gīti ? ; 4-6, 19, Vasantatilaka ; 7-8, 10, Śārdūlavikrīḍita ; 9, ? ; 11-12, 17-18, Āryā ; 13-16, Śloka ; 20, Āryā ? The langnage of the inscription may be described as Buddhist Sanskrit bearing impact of Pāli.

TEXT.

॥ namo ratnatrayāya ॥

1. jayalokeśvarasugatapadākṣara jayabhadreśvarasugata-padākṣara ।
   jayaviśveśvarasugatapadākṣara jaya- - śvarasugatapadākṣara ॥
2. dharṣati yo[2]lokeśa(ṃ) dhartu(ṃ) mūrdhnāmitābham api lokeśvaraṃ।
   praṇamata taṃ lokeśaṃ sakaladigantāvabhāsanālokeśaṃ ।
3. yātasthā - - - - - -[10] śarumān - - - - - - ।
   saṅgata - navaratnaṃ māmapi[3]bhayabhītam avacara(n)taṃ ॥
4. sāmantamantripatisaṃskṛtasatkrameṇa
   dikcakrarājavijayārjitavikrameṇa ।
   - - *ravairivaravīra*vimardena[11]
   nityaṃ parārthakaru[ṇā] ⏑ ⏑ — mena ॥

5. śailendravaṅśatilakena maho[4]dayena
   yasya kramāmbujarajaḥ *śirasā* praṇamya ।
   sampūjyate *pravararatna*saroruhādyai
   rājñā dhṛtā dhṛtimatā dharaṇīndranāmnā ॥
6. tenendra — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — vilokya
   lokaṃ kṛpāparigatena jaga*ddhitāya* ।
   vai[5]*pulyavipra*tilakena tathāgato*ktam*
   — — ⏑ — ⏑balinā bala - utena ॥
7. Gauḍīdvīpagurukramāmbujarajaḥpūtottamāṅgātmanā
   — — *ārthavidāmahārddhisahadāsaṃveda*[12] — — ⏑ ⏑ ।
   — — — ⏑ ⏑ —⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —[6]prāptābhiṣekaṃ śriyā
   śreyaḥ kāra ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ *vidvadriyā* ॥
8. sarvajño ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — *pradāvojvalaḥ*
   sarvvasvākhilaloka[13] — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ nīlotpalaḥ ।
   mañjuśrīr ayam aprameyasu[7]*gataprakhyāta*kīrttimahā
   — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ rājaguruṇā lokā*rthasaṃsth*āpitaḥ ॥
9. dṛṣṭaḥ[14] spṛṣṭaḥ *smṛti*. . . . itaḥ . . . . *titāpa* . *itiḥ*
   *sasu*khasya.....
   *setur*mmañjughoṣaḥ santoṣaḥ[8].smāttasmādbhavadbhir .....
   satkṛtta . . . . jjapadadṛṣṭarataḥ kīrttista*mbha* . . smṛttiḥ ॥
10. prīyaṃ buddha ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑
    trailokyā*rcita*saṃkramasya jagataḥ[9]trātur vidhātuḥ śriyaḥ ।
    kṛtvemāṃ pratimāṃ mayā *yadamitaṃ prāptaṃ guruṃ bhaktitaṃ*
    sevā — ⏑ ⏑ locanaḥ smarajitaḥ — — ⏑ mañjuśriyaṃ ॥
11. śakanṛpakālātītair varṣaśataiḥ saptabhiścaturbhirapi ।
    varṣaiḥ ku[10]māraghoṣaḥ sthāpitavān mañjughoṣam imaṃ ॥
12. .....[15] guru .....
    kala . . *saptame* māse sthāpitavāṅca[16] yathāham — ॥

13. kīrttistambho 'yam atulo[11]dharmmasetur anuttaraḥ ।
rakṣārthaṃ sarvasatvānāṃ mañjuśrīpratimākṛtiḥ ॥
14. atrabuddhaścadharmmaścasaṅghaścāntargataḥ sthitāḥ[17] ।
dṛṣṭavyo[18] dṛśyaratne'smin smarārāti[12]nisūdane ॥
15. ayaṃ sa vajradhṛk śrīmān brahmā viṣṇur mmaheśvaraḥ ।
sarvadevamayaḥ svāmī mañjuvāg iti gīyate ॥
16. deśasya*tasya* parārakṣāṃ parasvasya yatanaṃ sthiraṃ !
[13]mañjuśrīr ayam atrāste kurvan *tavyo*hitaśriyā[19] ॥
17. *da*[20] . . bodhicittamūlaḥ karuṇāskandho mahākṣamāśākhaḥ !
abhivāñchitāśrayalavaḥ kalinavakalpadrumo ja[14]yati ॥
18. ... smabhūta ... sukha .....rājā ।
tārkṣyo rakṣasi rakṣāṃ mañjuravaḥ sarvabhītiharaḥ ॥
19. yāce tri — ⌣ caritocitacāruvṛ[15]ttān
āgāminaḥ kṣitipatīn ava—⌣sarvān !
yuṣmābhir aprati⌣*maḥ* paripālanīyaḥ[21]
śrīdharmmasetur ayam—⌣⌣bhṛtkumāraḥ ॥
20. śrīsanggrāmadhanañja[16]yanaravarasaṃskāralab*dha*gurunāmna
kṛtiriyam...

TRANSLATION.

Homage to the Three Jewels[22] !

1. The imperishable principle[23] of the Buddha-hood of Jayalokeśvara[24] ! The imperishable principle of the Buddhahood of Jayabhadreśvara[24] ! The imperishable principle of the Buddhahood of Jayaviśveśvara[24] ! The imperishable principle of the Buddhahood of Jaya-śvara[24] !
2. Pay homage to that Lokeśa,[25] the lord of the worlds, who illuminates all regions, who is Lokeśvara, daring to bear on (his) forehead Amitābha, the ruler of the worlds !

3. [From the reference to *māmapi bhayabhītam*, it appears that Lokeśvara is invoked here for protection].
4. Through the excellent procedure that was devised by the feudatory chiefs, ministers and *pati-s*,[26] through the prowess obtained by conquest of kings of all circles (i.e., all directions), through the destruction of the most powerful heroes of - - enemies,[27] through ever-present philanthropy and compassion - -.
5. by him, the illustrious one, an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty, the dust of whose lotus-feet being saluted with the head is (again) worshipped (by men) with excellent jewels and lotuses, by that king of steadfast disposition, of the name of Indra, the earth was sustained !
6. By him, Indra . . . . . who was filled with compassion on seeing the world (steeped in great miseries), for the welfare of the world,... . . as recommended by Tathāgata, with the help of the foremost of the priests[28] versed in the *Vaipulya* lore.[29]
7. By him, whose head[30] was purified with the dust of the lotus-feet of the *guru* (i.e., preceptor) of the land[31] of Gauḍī[32].....
8. .....blue lotus.[33] This (image of) Mañjuśrī[34], expressive of the glory of the incomparable Sugata.....was established by *guru* (i.e., preceptor) of the king for the welfare of the world.
9. .....Mañjughoṣa .....the pillar of glory....
10. After putttng in the glory of the world's protector and creator, whose movement is applauded by the three worlds, was this image (of Mañjuśrī) obtained by me through the kindness of the *guru* (?)[35]
11. After seven hundred and four yeras of the era of the Saka-king had expired, Kumāraghoṣa set up (consecrated ?) this (image of) Mañjughoṣa.
12. .....accordingly I established in the seventh month....
13. this peerless pillar of glory, an excellent bridge of religion, having the form of the image of Mañjuśrī, for the protection of all beings.
14. Here, inside (this pillar of glory) are present Buddha, Dharmma and Samgha and (they) are to be seen in this beautiful Jewel (engaged) in destroying the enemy Smara.[36]
15. He, the Wielder of *Vajra*, the auspicious one, is Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara ; he is full of all gods[37] and is praised as Mañjuvāk.

16. This Mañjuśrī (-image) is present here to protect his own region (and also) to preserve carefully (?) the properties of others, (thus) increasing[38] the welfare and prosperity of both (?).
17. Victorious be (this new) Wishing-tree of the Kali (-age), whereof the roots are the *bodhicitta*,[39] the trunk is the compassion,[40] the branches are the Great Forbearance, the leaves are the desired shelter.[41]
18. .....He, Tārkṣya, Mañjurava, the scarer of all fears, (offers) protection in darkness.
19. I request all future kings with excellent conduct befitting their character ...that by you this (incomparable and) auspicious bridge of religion (in the form of) Bhṛtkumāra (Mañjuśrī) be protected.
20. The illustrious Sanggrāmadhanañjaya, the great king who has obtained a preceptor through ordination .....this construction is his.....

FOOTNOTES

1. *Notulen*, 1876, Bijl.
2. *Rapp.* ,1911,p 59.
3. *Notulen*, 1876, Bijl.
4. *Elements*, p. 53 f. n. 5.
5. *Notulen*, 1886, p. 26.
6. p. 389.
7. *TBG*,68 (1928) pp. 1-56.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-16.
9. His full name might have been Dharaṇīndravarmaṇa, such as Bosch (op. cit., pp. 24-25) has suggested.
10. Bosch offers here the tentative reading of *mavacaratayaḥ*.
11. The reading of 'vīra is not certain.
12. This is the provisional reading of Bosch.
13. Bosch reads sarvasthā which appears doubtful to me.
14. Bosch read *diṣṭaḥ*. What he reads to be a sign for the medial *i* is really a stroke for the *virāma*.
15. Bosch offers here the provisional reading of *vyatiṣyanvicināmanisara*.
16. Bosch reads stha', which may be a printing mistake.
17. Bosch's reading of 'taḥ is not correct.
18. Read. 'vyā.
19. *taya*' ? The last member of the compound may also be read as *śriya* if we read the following letter as *de*'.

20. The following two letters appear to me like *jatra*.
21. Bosch reads *pratip*° which appears to be a mistake.
22. Buddha, Dharmma and Saṃgha.
23. On *akṣara* see also Muṇḍaka 2/1/1, 2/2/2 ; Gītā, 3/15.
24. Though these are not the unusual names of Śiva in his *liṅga*-from, we have probably to do here with Amitābha as Lokeśvara, Amoghasiddha as Viśveśvara and Vairocana as Bhadreśvara. The mutilated last name may be either Vajreśvara or Ratneśvara, respectively standing for Akṣobhya and Ratnasambhava. *cf.* Bosch, *TBG* 68, p. 44. This explanation of the passage does not however, exclude the other possibility, namely, that we have here an eulogistic reference to the eternal principle of the combined forms of Śiva (in his *liṅga*-form) and Buddha.
25. He is the most favourite deity of the Buddhists having no less than 108 different forms. He is also known as Avalokiteśvara, Avalokita, Lokanātha, etc. On his head-dress we find represented his spiritual father Amtābha. The best iconographical example of it is perhaps the statue of Avalokiteśvara in the temple of Caṇḍi Mendut in Central Java.
26. We have prodably to understand here generals, and not the petty village-officers of this name who are mentioned in the stone of Kalasan (V. 9). The translation of this portion of the text by Bosch is not happy.
27. The text in this place has *vairisaravīravarmardena* whereof the reading of *vairi* and *vīra* is extremely doubtful. Now, in the Nālandā inscription (*EI*, XVII pp. 310-327) we find a *yavabhūmipālaḥ śrī vīravairimathanānugatābhidhānaḥ*. It was supposed by Dr. Stutterheim (*A Javanese period* etc., pp. 7-22) that these two epithets refer to the same person, viz., king Sañjaya, the predecessor of *rakai* Paṇangkaraṇ. The hypothesis becomes extremely improbable by the consideration that, whereas Canggal inscription is dated in 732 A. D. the Nālandā inscription cannot be placed earlier that c. 850. A. D. It is very doubtful if three generations of rulers can cover so long a period. As a matter of fact, the dynastic list preserved in the Kedu inscription makes it clear that the average duration of each reign cannot be more than 18 years. Secondly, in the Kalasan inscription of 778 A.D., Paṇangkaraṇ is called *Mahārāja*. The Kĕlurak inscription, therefore, can at best refer to him by the epithet described above (*vairi*) and not to his predecessor. Thirdly, the phrase *vairivara*° of the Kĕlurak inscription can be a simple case of *Karaṇe tṛtīyā* (instrumental case) which has nothing to do with titles or epithets. For the objections of Bosch and Mus, see *TBG*, 69, pp. 138-151 ; *BEFEO*, 28, pp. 515-528.
28. *Vipra* is generally used to denote Brāhmaṇical priests. The word is perhaps used here in the sense of a 'learned priest'. It is likely that the poet chose this word to effect a pun with *vaipulya*.
29. Many Mahāyāna-sūtras were composed or redacted in India during 100-400 A.D. These Mahāyāna-sūtras, also called Vaipulya-sūtras, are generally couched in the form of instructions given by Buddha. Quotations and references to many of these sūtras occur in Candrakīrtti's commentary on the *Mādhyamika Kārikās* of Nāgārjuna. It appears to me that the priest mentioned above was versed in this lore.

30. *uttamāṅga* means 'head', and not 'beautiful limbs', such as taken by Bosch.
31. The title Gauḍīdvīpa is a misnomer, because it is not an island. I suppose this was written in imitation of such words as Jambudvīpa, Śākadvīpa, etc.
32. It is difficult to say what tracts of Bengal are denoted by the term Gauḍīdvīpa. In the 10th–11th century, at any rate, Gauḍa included Rāḍhā or West Bengal and there are indications to show that Gauḍa included a larger area than Western Bengal at various epochs of her history. Other parts of N. India have also participated in this colonising activity, e, g, the Pre-Nāgarī inscription of Plaosan(about first half or middle of the 9th century A.D.)also refers to teachers from Gurjaradeśa who frequented the Śailendra court of Central Java. See J. G. de Casparis in *Artibus Asiae*, 24 (1961) p. 245 ff.
33. The blue lotus is one of the three special symbols of Mañjuśrī.
34. Mañjuśrī is known by various names, such as Mañjughoṣa, Mañjurava, Mañjuvāk, etc. He is the Buddhist god of learning. The *sādhanā* quoted by M. Foucher (*Iconographie* II, pp. 40-41) shows that Akṣobhya should be on the head-dress of Mañjuśrī; while Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddha should be on his four sides. It is probable therefore, as has been suggested before, that these last-mentioned four divinities are referred to in the opening section of this inscription.
35. The few words translated by Bosch contain the mistake that *trailokyā°* can never be an adjective to *pratimā*, such as he has taken. The case-endings are quite different in these cases. It also seems that "obtain" in the text signifies derivation of the image from India.
36. I consider that *Smara* and *Arāti* form a case in apposition. *cf.* also Fosch *TBG*, 68, p. 21 f. n. 1. By Smara we have obvisusly to understand Māra of the Buddhist mythology.
37. That is to say, he is the symbol of the combined body of deities.
38. Lit. doing.
39. By *bodhicitta*, the Mahāyāna texts understand the formation of a resolution to attain *bodhi* and save every being of the world from misery by leading him to *Nirvāṇa* or *bodhi*. For details, see *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (A. S. B.) pp. 20 ff *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Bibl. Bud.) pp. 290 ft.

No. VI. A.

THE INSCRIPTION OF RATU BAKA PLATEAU, 714 ŚAKA

One fragment of this inscription was found about 1816 under the rubbles of the great pĕṇḍava-terrace of the Ratu Baka plateau.[1] De Casparis thinks[2] that it is one of the two fragments found by Ijzerman in 1886. Both of these fragments were subsequently sent to the Jakarta Museum, where they were listed under D 50 *a* and *b*. Thereafter two other fragments belonging to the same inscription were found by Mr. Rothe in the same vicinity.[3] According to de Casparis,[4] a fifth fragment also seems to belong to this inscription. The inscription is triangular in form, its greatest length being 20 c.m. and height 13 c.m. It contains fragments of seven differsnt lines.

These five fragments now constitute the Ratu Baka inscription, but more than half of the record is still wanting. Brandes started transcribing some lines of the inscription[5] ; a further attempt was made by Bosch,[6] who offered a transcription of the first four lines of the inscription.

The inscription has been written in what Bosch describes as the Pre-Nāgarī script, of which a few specimens are available in and outside Java. Those belonging to Java refer to the inscriptions of Kalasan, Kĕlurak, Ratu Baka and Plaosan. Of these four again, Kalasan and Ratu Baka represent one type, while the pair of Kĕlurak-Plaosan represents another type. Indeed, the similarity between the inscriptions of Kalasan-Ratu Baka is so great that Bosch thought that they might have been engraved by the same hand.[7] The letters like o, ū, ya, ha, na, ra, ja, bha are illustrative from this point of view,

The word Śailendra occurs in lines 14 & 15, before which occurs the expression Dharmmottuṅgadevasya, which has been conjectured to be the genetive of the king's name. De Casparis appropriately thinks that, since the chartors of Kalasan and Ratu Baka stand to-gether from palaeographic point of view, both of them may refer to the same king.[8] A king of the name of Dharmottuṅga is otherwise unknown. Van Naerssen[9] has drawn our attention to the fact that kariyāna Panaṅgkaraṇa has not been specifically mentioned in the Kalasan inscription as a Śailendra king nor has the name of the Śailendra king mentioned there-in. If Paṇaṅgkaraṇa be a Śailendra king and identified with king Indra one may be tempted to say that Dharmottuṅga was his succesor. There is some possibility that it refers to Viṣṇu of the Ligor inscription.[10]

The inscription consists of 18 lines of writing, but most of these are not very legible. De Casparis has successfully provided a fuller transcription of the text[11] than hitherto attempted and the following transcription is based upon it.

The inscriptton is dated in 792 A.D. It is important from the cultural point of view. While palaeography connects the inscription with eastern India and Pāla-Bengal, there are clear references indicating that an Abhayagiri Vihāra of the locality was constructed by the people coming from Ceylon.

I offer below a translation of the first four ślokas of the inscription and of others wherever possible. The other ślokas however suffer from awful hiatus and problems created by the uncertainly about the exact location of the fragment *e* in the body of the text. The portion within one star and another (·····) indicate fragment *e*.

Ślokas 1—3 are in Śārdūlavikriḍīta ; 4 in Mālinī ; others, as far as discernible, appear to be in Āryā.

TEXT

1. Oṃ.

dhīgambhīraguhā(gṛhaṃ) smṛtiśilah sa lvākyadhātūjjvalo
maitrīprasravaṇe(na) (yasya niyataṃ svaccham suramyaṃ pa yaḥ) ‖
(sānurvāri) (2) dhilokadharmapavanairugroirna saṃkampitas
taṃ saṃvaddhasumerumūrjjitaguṇaṃ jñānograśa (mbhuṃ
bhaje) //1//

— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — (3)*mi* dipyate
vikrāntaḥ pratiyānti tīrthyavṛṣabhā yasya prabhāvoddhataḥ/
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — (4) ndhanapradahanaṃ saddharmavahnin name
//2//

śaikṣāśaikṣasahasracakramakaro yaḥ
śūnyatā*nirmmalo*
ni — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ /

(5) (saṃgū)ḍhārthavicāraṇāvara
nadīvegaiḥ samāpyāyitaṃ
śikṣāvandanavaddhave lamamalam
vande guṇā — ⏑ ⏑ //3//

(6) prāptan tena vuddhatvaṃ samvāsī*m abhavebhave* vuddhatvaṃ//
adhimuktirddhanadevaḥ satatam a

(7) (tri)bhuvanakaranāntaḥ pāti no duḥkhamūlaṃ
kṣapaya kamalapāṇe prāṇināṃ kleśajālaṃ ··· ···
saṅgā ··· ··· ··· //4//

(8) ··· ·· ··· saskandhe pravṛddhadhī
··· ··· ··· abhidhārthyatāgraphalade
jayati mahārājaka ··· ··· rājyam
alaṃkurvāṇaṃ tejaḥpūrṇṇā *··· ··· //5//

(9) pa ··· ···dharmmadhani ····· ( ) ṇe
karamvapāṇau gurau dhanurvi ( )
( ) ··· ··· * (ava)nipatisa ··· tuṅgam
atulavalavegaviva * //6//

(10) punaḥ karttuṃ pari ... ... ( ) * ··· ···
ayamiha jinasūnoḥ padma

(11) pāṇeḥ kṛpāloḥ prathita⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — — padaih /
jinavaravinayoktaiḥ śikṣitānāṃ /
⌣ tīnam abhayagirivihāraḥ kāritaḥ siṃhalānaṃ //7//
vāṇaḥ kṛpaloḥ praśita ( ) * prajānāṃ ··· ···
matirabhavannaḥ karttuṃ śe ··· ··· * //8//

(12) dānaṃ śāsanaḥ syanti.
nāna ( ) * ... ...
śakanṛpakālātītairvarṣṣaśataiḥ saptabhiścaturdaśabhiḥ
varṣṣaiścāpyabhivṛttaiḥ kṛtā pratiṣṭhā vihārasya //9//

(13) dharmmatuṅgadevasya śailendra ( )* ... ...pāda ... ...*

(14) tiṣṭhāṃ vihārasya // sarva //10//

(15) ··· ··· vihāraparipālanā ... ...

(16) santavānakādibhiḥ saṇḍa- ( ) nyam //11//

(17) tābhirviśeṣā ... ... ( ) ··· ···
ni śriyamavadhā ··· ···

(18) manuśāsanajñā bhavanti ( )ta ··· ···
jātārthavibhāgavijñāḥ //12//

TRANSLATION

1. Oṃ ! The cave is sombre with the meditation (of pious people). Where (even) the slabs (bear past) recollections and which (cave) has been illuminated, like metal, with the pious words (of the preceptor) ; which (cave) has friendship with the fountain (of knowledge) ··· which place is not ruffled by the strong winds of popular cults. To that Sumeru-like (cave), which preserves the accumulated merit of highly learned people, do I offer my homage !

2. ... ... is illuminated. The disciples who learn from their teachers and who have become proud on account of their (preceptor's) influence are returning home powerful. To (the preceptor) who, by imparting knowledge, was like fire unto sorrow-like fuels of the world, to that one who augments the precious religion, do I offer my homage !

3. In whose vicinity the disciples, fit or unfit, collect in crowds, like the circle of crocodiles, who has attained the purity of (spiritual) voidness ; who has pleased the people with his capacity, comparable to that of tumultous rivers, in explaining extremely difficult meanings ; who is like an ocean ; to whom the disciples, like the sea-shore, commingle in singing praise to learning ; to that person who is beyong *guṇas*, pure, do I offer my homage !

4. By him has been attanined Buddhahood. Or, who has gained comprehensive knowledge in matters relating to the entire world, and entire infinity, in which there is always a god owning the (spiritual) wealth that brings salvation. Oh Thou ! Having lotus-like palm, deign that the roots of sorrows that exist in the (three) worlds may be destroyed ; O Thou with lotus-palms, do away with all sufferings of beings and save us from all attachment.

5. Who is dexterous in bringing out the meaning of the secret, is like the ocean that is pleased by the currents of rivers and the shore of which is full of pupils who eulogise their preceptor free from all doubts for imparting knowledge. To him I offer ... ...

6. Whose vibrations of piety ... ...he has bow in his hand and imparts knowledge in archery ... he is the ruler of the worlds ...

7. Then again he is able to do ... Here the Lord with his lotus-feet and who is full of mercy is well-established ... The people of Ceylon have erected the monastery called Abhayagiri according to the sayings of the Vinaya (monastic discipline) of the exalted Jina for the learned scholars.

8. ... ... of the people ... ... intellect grew bright ···

9. ... ... Gift and administration will go on ··· ··· nothing else ... In the Śaka year expired 714 ··· ··· the monastery was established.

10. In that monastery made by Dharmmottuṅgadeva (of) the Śailendra (dynasty), we shall reside !

11. Sanda was (given proper instructions) by Santa, Banaka and others in the maintenance of the monastery.

12. By these particular instructions all welfare was brought about and they (the disciples) became well-versed in the codes of Manu and the scriptures of birth and.....

FOOTNOTES

1. *TBG*, 83 (1849) p. 186
2. *Prasasti Indonesia* I (1950) p. 11
3. *OV*, 1915, p 144 ; 1916, p. 9 ; *NBG* 54 (1916) pp. 3 and 9 ff ; de Casparis, *op. cit.*
4. *Op. cit.*
5. *NBG* 1886 pp. 81-2.
6. As Bijl. II to his edition of the Kĕlurak inscription in *TBG* 68 (1928) pp. 63-64.
7. Bosch, *op cit.*, p. 6 ff ; de Casparis, *op.cit.*, pp. 12-13.
8. De Casparis *op. cit.*, p. 20.
9. *India Antiqua* (1947) pp. 249-53.
10. De Casparis. also thinks that it refers to Viṣṇu of the Ligor Inscription. Vide his chronology in *op. cit.*, , p. 19.
11. *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-22 and *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961) pp. 245 ff

VI. B.

THE INSCRIPTION OF CAṆḌI PLAOSAN

It seems that this fragment of the Plaosan inscription was discovered from the ruins of Caṇḍi Plaosan in Central Java.[1] It was already noticed by Crawfurd in 1816 and came to be included in the Collection of Klaring at Jogjakarta,[2] from which place it was trasferred to the Jakarta Museum in 1890.[3] It is numbered D 82 in that Museum. Bosch briefly discussed this inscription in his introduction to the Kĕlurak inscription referred to earlier.

As stated before, the inscription is fragmentary and a large portion on the left-hand corner is lost. Besides, the whole upper part and a small section on the left-hand side, extending over the entire height of the stone, is missing. It appears from the studies of Bosch that the affinity of Kĕlurak and Plaosan inscriptions is closer than that of Kalasan-Ratu Baka inscriptions. The Plaosan inscription seems to be dated sometime before the ninth century A. D. Unfortunately, the name of the king, during whose time this inscription was incised, has not been mentioned, but there is hardly any doubt that it was issued by a Śailendra-king.

The inscription has been edited with elaborate notes by de Casparis in his *Prasasti Indonesia* II, pp. 175 ff. The present translation however differs from his translation in some major respects, as a comparison of the two will show. The credit of deciphering this inscription, almost an illegible one, must however go to de Casparis.

Verses up to l. 12 seem to be in Āryā metre; though in lines 6 and 7 Āryā metres alternate with Mālinī. From the 13th verse, ślokas 1-10 have been couched in anuṣṭubh metre, 11-17 are in Drutavilamvita and 18-19 are in Praharṣinī.

TEXT

5. vijarakāyavibham vibhāti guṇavibhāmalaputrajananaṃ yaistaruṇ-avala

6. ... ... svaparahitaguṇasya sva ... ādvitīyam / smaraharavaravarṣṣad-bhūjayottuṅgadeva-

7. sangaṃ / ... ti kuśalarāge yaśca vṛddhiṃ vibhartti // śara-

8. ..... jamvulakṣmyāḥ / ..... lolakīrttyā vilokinyāḥ // sa.....

9. ..... satatārthakarinī varadā / bhāryyā tāreva virājati // gatinā kuśala-

10. ñjabhṛto ... ṣṭapādasatkāyaṃ // janayāmvabhūva bhūyo bhūbhṛtam-adyāṣṭahastāñśaṃ //

11. (paripālita) sajjana(ḥ) taḍitkuliśabhṛt kuleśaśaraṇaśca ...ḥ/ valamālā

12. (saman)takalolatphalotpalālabhṛtaḥ / priyatamaṃ eva parikhayā pari-

13. .....jinasutaḥ //

naranāthābhisaṃskārabhāro vibhāti bhāsvaraḥ /
dharmmasambhārasamitapratimāprati (14)—⏑ ⏒ // 1 //
— — — — ⏑ ⏒ ⏒ ⏒ ⏒ ⏒ ⏒ ⏒ ⏒ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏒ /
⏒ ⏒ ⏒ ⏒ ⏑ — — ⏒ nīrajān varayānagān // 2 //

⏑ ⏑ ḥ sva ⏑ ⏑ yāvā ⏑ catussugatasaṅgataḥ /
prāsādādbhutasaṃbhraṣṭaḥ kimbhāti tadṛśaściraṃ // 3 //
bhūbhṛdiva vi (15) — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ /
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ rāṇaḥ pāpabnā (ja)naḥ // 4 //
sambhavabhramaṇaśrāntaviśrāntavadhiṃ eṣyati /
viṃśatiha virājante jinā jinasutānvitāḥ // 5 //
analpajanmopajitya viśvāvaraṇavāraṇaḥ /

16. — — — —, — — — — — — —, — , — // 6 //
— — — —, — — — — — — —, — , —
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ duḥkhaśamanaśāsanaḥ // 7 //
gahanapāraśāsarthavyāharamañjuśikaraḥ /
cāracivarasāndhyabhradhibhūridalayoja(17)(naḥ) // 8//
— — — —, — — — — — — —, — , — /
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ kṣanārthaṃ vidiyate // 9 //
ratnatrayāśayopetaṃ samastaguṇaratnabhaṃ /
kaścinna vaktuśakto vastatpuṇyāyāmanuṣṭubhi // 10 //
vividhagandhasudigdhavarā(18) (ṅganāḥ)
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — /
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — yate // 11 //
kanakakokanadodaravisphuradruciradīpaśikhākṛtatāmasaḥ /
śiśiraraśmirucāpravarānvayaḥ
sakalakhādya (19 ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — // 12 //
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —
pravarasaṃvaravāravarāṅganāḥ /
hṛdayanīrajasāndrarasāntaraṃ
harati kāmijanasya samantataḥ //13//
satatagurjaradeśasamāgataissugatabhaktibharapraṇatai(20) ⏑ —/
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — , —
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —tkriyate jinamandiram //14//
kvacidasankhyaśikhāmaṇibhūṣaṇāḥ /
praṇayinīprakaṭīkṛtamanmathāḥ /
sugatavimvavilokananirjitasmaraśarākuśalāḥ śa (21) ⏑ — — //15//
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —

vigataroṣadṛśo'ntaradṛṣṭiṣu /
sakalalokamasāvapi nirvṛto
bhavabhidapratimapratimāmṛtaiḥ //16//
vahulamohamahātimirāvṛto
jinavadastinirodha (22) ⏑ — ⏑ —/
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —
drutavilambitasādhanavanditaḥ //17//
saṃsārāvanicaratānna dharmato 'nya-
jantūnamvaraśaraṇaṃ triśarmmadhīraiḥ /
koṣo'sāvitarakṛto'pi pālanīya-
(23) — — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — (praharṣanīyaḥ) //18//
kṛtvemaṃ śaśadharavimvaśuddhamāpaṃ
yat puṇyam bhajatu jano jinakramasya /
asmān rakṣa varanarādhirājarāja
dṛṣṭikleśamapi jana na rāgabaddhāḥ //19//

TRANSLATION

1. (5) He shines forth with a body devoid of infirmities, able to give birth to sons free from impurity by the splendour of virtues ——(sons) who, with strength of youth··· ···

(6)... ...with virtues for well-being of self and others, he is without a parallel——that Uttuṅgadeva with arms showering boons[4] like the killer of the god of love (i.e. Mahādeva).

(7)... ... ...attachment··· ··· ···He who attains growth by dexterity and love. Arrow... ...

(8)... ... ...Of the goddess of Fortune of Jambu... ...By the grace of looks of her who is unsteady in her glory. He... ...

(9)... ... ...showering boons always fruitful... ... ...wife existing like Tārā[5]. Worthy in movement... ...

(10)... ... ...possessing purified body along eight-fold path··· ··· of a meritorious person··· ··· ···again gave birth to a son this day[6] having parts of eight hands[7].

(11)··· ··· ···supporter of honest people, he is chief of the clan[8] and shelter, possessing thunder and lightning··· ··· ···garland of forces... ...

(12)··· ···the subordinate chiefs[9] bearing fruits and lotuses, restless to be given to him, surround him as their dearest person.

(13)··· ··· ···the son of Jina.

(14) He shines forth resplendant with the charge of consecration of a king[10], representing an image which is an embodiment of all forms of religion.

2. ... ...(followers), lotus-like, of the Great Vehicle.

3 ... ... ···with his own actions joining the four Sugatas, does he shine forth for ever, dissociated from the palace mysteriously[11] !

4. Like the king··· ··· ···shirking a battle, becomes a sinner.

5. Fatigued through existences, he will reach the *bodhi* of complete rest. Twenty Jinas are here in the company of the son of Jina.

6. Having conquered a number of existences, he has done away with the veil of the universe... ... ...

7. ... ...following a procedure of doing away with all sorrow.

8. Having a monk's apparel of the colour of the evening cloud, he sprinkles agreeable particles of incantation (*mantra*) that explain a procedure of crossing the dense (world), growing various petals.

9. ... ...(he) is given for the protection (?)

10. None is able to describe him in verses through meritorious deeds of his, who has the splendour of all the gems of virtues and who is endowed with the aims of the three jewels.

11. The best of damsels besmeared with various kinds of fragrance··· ···

12. The best of the clan, having the beauty of the Moon's rays, doing away with darkness by the radiant flame coming forth from within that is like lotus of gold, may supply edibles !

13. ··· ··· ··· the best of courtesans with due restraint. (Their) deep feelings of hearts which are like lotuses attract the minds of the aggressive lovers from all directions.

14. The temple of Jina has been built by constant flow of people from Gurjara, who bowed down to Sugata with devotion.

15. Sometimes people who had innumerable valuable ornaments of gems and to whom their beloved souls had shown amorous love were conquered by the glance of the image of Sugata and (then) baffled the arrows of the god of love.

16. ... ...conquered indignant vision having looks within. He also was able to free himself from all world by the nectar-like images of those who conquered rebirth.

17. Covered by dense darkness of various kinds of illusion, he was able to attain self-control like Jina... ...and was eulogised for accomplishment achieved through fast and slow form of practice of penance.

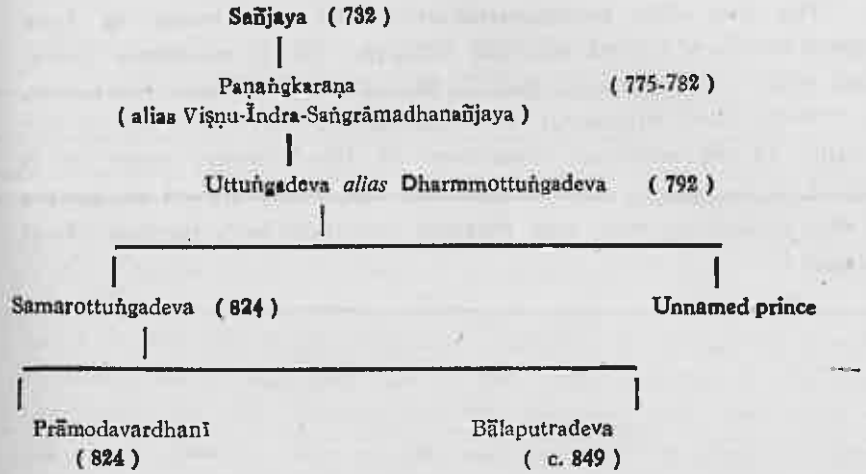
18. Judged from religious point of view, beings have no other shelter worse than worldly life. Those who are steady in the happiness

shown by the Three have viewed this treasure as unworthy. Yet they have to abide by ... ...(and find pleasure therein).

19. By doing this meritorious deed, the waters of which have been purified by the image of the Moon, man may worship Jina. Oh! Lord of lords, protect us by the grace of your vision, for which troubles may kindly be excused ——people may not be addicted to pleasures.

FOOTNOTES

1. *OV* 1915 Bijl. X, pp. 89-91.
2. Verbeek, *Oudheden* (1891),p. 164.
3. *NBG* 28 (1890), pp. 54, 76.
4. Bhujayottuṅgadeva can not be treated as the name of a person. The word *bhuja* is connected with the preceding words.
5. Her name was not Tārā, but she was like Tārā. Tārā was a most popular deity. Consequently ladies were often compared with her or given her name. The intention of giving names to the dearest ones after the name of the dearest was that frequently the ones would be called by their names, which are also the names of the deities, and thereby merit would accrue.
6. He does not appear to be Samarottuṅga. In any case, the Śailendra-genealogy of Cntral Java, in my opinion, seems to be like this :



7. Apparently it refers to some eight-armed deity.
8. If the word *Kula* can be interpreted in the sense of clan, it would perhaps indicate that the Śailendravaṃśa was indigenous. A foreign conqueror can doubtless come with soldiers, mercenary or otherwise, but he may not bring with him any clan in the real sense of the term. In śloka 12 below, he is again called 'the best of the clan'.
9. We can not determine who they were nor explain fully how the kings under the Kĕdu-list (no. LXX below) stood in relation to the Śailendra-rulers.
10. The data are insufficient to indicate who was consecrated as a king. If the data of this charter were exactly known, we could have made certain conjectures. As it is, it may either be an unknown predecessor of Samarottuṅga or Samarottuṅga himself. The prince born on the date of the inscription (v. 10) was too young to be considered.
11. This seems to imply that the said king (Uttuṅgadeva) left his palace unannounced for religious exercises. In śloka 8 below, he is stated to have worn the "monk's apparel of the colour of the evening cloud". Was this done after consecrating his successor as king, as referred to in note above]?

The only other near-contemporary ruler who seems to have adopted the life of a monk was *rake* Patapan. He is sometimes indentified with *rake* Pikatan and with *Pu* Manukū, (Vide Krom, *Gesciedenis*, pp. 156-57; R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa* I, p. 238) but this is not certain. In the uncertain chronology of the Śailendra ruler, it is difficult, at the present stage of our knowledge, to identify Uttungadeva of this inscription with *rake* Patapan, but could he be the first *rake* of Patapan ?

VII

THE STONE OF DIËNG, 731 SAKA.

This record, previously described as the Hanasima-stone, was obtained from the Diëng-plateau. It was subsequently despatched to the Batavia Museum where it is numbered D. 58.[1]

This inscription was noticed as early as 1886[2] and formed no. 4 in the list of Dr. Brandes[3] published in 1887. Dr. Brandes communicated in that year that it was "still standing in the pasanggrahan." In the *Notulen*[4] of the following year, we notice its arrival at Batavia, and in the list published in 1889, it appears among the archaeological collections of the Museum.[5] The stone is represented in photo nos. 145 and 146 of Van Kinsbergen. Impression of the inscription is in Oudh. Bur., numbering 93,94 and 340,[6] while a plaster-cast is in the Leiden Ethn. Mus.,numbering 2990.[7]

The inscription is an extremely mutilated one and seems to contain 15 lines of writing on the first face and 3 on the second face. It is dated in 731 Saka and appears to handle over a freehold marked out by Si Dāma. The importance of the record consists in the fact that it is the oldest dated Old-Javanese inscription of Central Java.[8]

The inscription has been transcribed by Brandes[9] and published in the *OJO* where it bears no. II.

TEXT

RECTO

1. jagaddhita
2. sati[10] śaka varṣātita[11] 731 jyeṣṭamāsa[12]
3. mi kṛṣṇapakṣa ā po tu vāra vuruku(ng) ma
4. tatkāla sang pamagat tiga *nggir* si dāma manima

7

5.
6.
7.
8. dṛvya[13] 4
9. ning hulun haji va
10. 4 dāng i panglipa
t 4
11. ?[14] padamaran
12. 1 caranti tambra 4[15]
dpa ā *pangkur*
13.
14.
15.

VERSO

1. hana sīma i śrī manggala vatak hino savaḥ lamvit ।
hana
2. sīma i vukavatu vatak vantil savaḥ tampaḥ
3 hana sīma
3. i panulingan vatak pikatan savaḥ tampaḥ 1 . blah 1.

TRANSLATION

RECTO

1. .....the welfare of the world .....
2. .....Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 731, the month of Jyaiṣṭha .....
3. .....day of the dark half of the month, Sunday,[16] *Pon*,[17] *Tunglai*,[18] *vuruku(ng)*,[19] .....
4. .....At that time, the *pamagat*[20]. . . . . .(namely) Si Dāma marked out free-holds .....
5.
6.

7.
8.
9. . . . . of the *hulun haji*[21]. . . . . .
10. . . . . 4 ; cooking pot, rice cooking pot[22]. 4
11. . . . . lamp . . . . . .
12. . . . . 1 ; *caranti tambra*,[23] 4 ; . . . . . .
13. . . . . *pangkur*[24]. . . . . .
14.
15.

VERSO

1. There is the free-hold at Srī Manggala under Hino[25] (consisting of) *savah*-fields (measuring) *lamvit ?* ; । there is
2. the free-hold at Vukavatu under Vantil (consisting of) *savah*-fields (measuring) *tampaḥ* 3; there is the free-hold
3. at Panulingan under Pikatan[26] (consisting of) *savah*-fields (measuring) *tampaḥ* 1 *blaḥ* 1.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Notulen*, 1889, p. 131; Verbeek, *Oudheden*, p. 124.
2. *Notulen*, pp. 29 ff., 186-189; *TBG*, 31, p. 250 ff.
3. *Notulen*, 1887, pp. 85 ff.
4. pp. 2 ff., 41, 62 ff.
5. *Notulen*, 1889, p. 131 (no. 4).
6. *OJO*, p. 2
7. Juynboll, *Katalog* V, p. 233. For further literature, see references by Krom in *OJO*, p. 2.
8. According to Dr. Goris (*TBG*, 70, pp. 160, 163) the stones of Gandasuli (*OJO* III, CV) are to be dated in 709 Śaka and the stone of Karang-tengah

(*OJO*, IV) in 719 Saka. According to Damais, the date of the former is 749 Saka and that of the latter is 7(4)6 Śaka.

9. There is a second transcription of this inscription by the same scholar, but its main point of difference consists in the use of *b* for *v*. (Note of Krom in *OJO*, p. 3).
10. Read : svasti.
11. Read : °tīta.
12. Read : Jyaiṣṭha°.
13. This is the usual Old-Jav. spelling of Skt. ***drabya***.
14. Here stands an indistinct numeral. [k]
15. The reading of this numeral is doubtful. [k]
16. ā is the abbreviated form of *ādityavāra*, a day of the Indian seven-day week.
17. *Po* stands for *pon*, a day of the Mal.-Polynesian five-day week.
18. *Tu* similarly stands for *tunglai*, a day of the Mal.-Polynesian six-day week.
19. It is also the name of a Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week. As *tunglai* is a bad day, *vurukung* probably stands here to denote a good day.
20. The word is spelt in various ways, e.g. *pamget*, *pamegat*, etc. It denotes a "notable person". For a detailed note on this word see *BKI*, 90(1933) pp. 241-244, 257-258, with literature cited thereon.
21. This is the first mention of this class of people in Old-Javanese inscriptions. According to Stutterheim, the term denotes "a class of slaves who come to the king's possession out of misdeeds or similar offences." See *TBG*, 65 (1925) p.266. The term was translated by Kern (*VG*, VII, p.49) as 'luxury-slave'
22. *Panglipa* appears to be the remnant of *panglipattan* which sometimes appears in the list of *saji*-offerings. *Cf. Aanw. Kol. Inst.*, 1934, p. 141.
23. The article mentioned here appears to be a kind of copper-object.
24. This officer already appears in the Sanskrit inscription of Kalasan ; this is the first mention of him in an Old-Javanese inscription.
25. It is difficult to say if this is to be taken as the name of a place or an official title. The word frequently occurs in later inscriptions in combination with high official titles, such as *rake hino*, *mapatih i hino*, *rakryan ri hino*, etc. It is probable that the titles were originally connected with the names of places and gradually came to be applied for the formation of official titles. If that is so, Śrī manggala may be smaller unit within the greater area of Hino, or it may be a place which stands under the authority of the officer called Hino. On this word, see also V.d. Tuuk, *KBWdb.*, I (1897) p. 22 b.
26. In the map, a place Pikatan has been shown to the north-east of Sumbing.

VIII

COPPER-PLATE OF GARUNG (PĔNGGING) 741 ŚAKA.

This inscription has been incised on a Copper-plate measuring 24·5 c.m. X 12·7 c.m. It is written on one side of the plate and contains seven lines in Old-Jav. script of Central Java. It was found in an arable land in the vicinity of desa Pĕngging, District Banjudono, in the Division of Bojolali, Res. Surakarta. It is preserved in the Museum of Srivedari. The date of this record was read by Poerbatjaraka in *OV* 1920 p. 136 as 861; Goris in *OV* 1928 p. 65 read the date as 751 or 761 (?) Śaka. Damais in *BEFEO* 46 p. 26 reads the year as 741, the exact date, according to him, being 21. 3. 819. The text of the inscription has been published by Poerbatjaraka in *OV* 1920 p. 136 with corrections of Goris in *OV* 1928, p. 65.

TEXT

1. ॥ 0 ॥ śvasti śakavarṣātīta 741 caitramāsa tithī ṣaṣṭi[1] kṛṣṇapakṣa pa. po.
2. so vāra tatkāla rakarayān i garung tumurun ājñānira. i sang pamgat
3. amrati pu managgungi. deya ni sorang sang mangilala drabya haji tan
4. kumnāna ramamrati rumvān banyāgā. bantal huñjamman
5. manghūri senamukha tuha dagang mapakkan ityemādi.
6. sapradeśannya ataḥ tan knāna ya amatvakan drabya haji. ḍula
7. va kal kalangkang. ya matangya tan knāna ujar haji ri sira ॥—॥

TRANSLATION

1. ॥ O ॥ Hail! The Śaka Year past, 741, the month of Caitra,
   sixth day of the dark half of the month, *paniron*,[2] *pon*,[3]
2. Monday. At that time the *rakarayān*[4] of Garung communi-
   cated his orders to *sang pamgat*
3. (of) Amrati (viz.) Pu Managgungi, that the duty of each of
   the subordinate ones of the collectors of royal taxes is (that
   they) shall not
4. meet the *rama-s* of Amrati (such as ?) *rumvān*,[5] *bari yāgā bantal*,[6]
   hunjamman,[7]
5. *manghūri*,[8] *senamukha*,[9] *tuha dagang*,[10] *mapakkan*,[11] etc. (?)
6. in their village. (They) shall never meet them for the collection
   of royal dues
7. .....[12] That is the reason why (they) shall not meet them.
   (This is) the royal command to him ॥

FOOTNOTES

1. Read : tithi ṣaṣṭhī.
2. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
3. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
4. Rakarayān may be derived from *Ra-*, *skt. kārya* or *kriyā*. The *Ra* is the equivalent of the spiritual *da* and *Kārya* or *Kriyā* signifies 'doing, work.' This word may remind one of *Kariyāna* of the Kalasan inscription. *An* is the old-Javanese civilian suffix. So the whole thing should signify 'an honourable person who executes work.' That is why the Royal orders are normally communicatd to the *Rakarayāns*. The title of *Raka* may be an abbreviated form of *rakarayān*.
5. Also spelt as *rumban*. The significance of the term is not quite clear, though it may be connected in some way with precious stones. For the remarks of Stutterheim see *TBG*, 65, p. 256.
6. They may refer to a class of (foreign ?) merchants with *pikul*-freights. The term also occurs in no. 61. 7 and no. 93. A. 8 below.
7. Also spelt as Hiñjamman (80. 22), Huñjeman (12. 5b. 4) and Huñjamanh (93, A. 8). In 12. 5b. 4 and 93. A. 8, the term occurs in association with the group of foreigners. In 80. 20, he is listed among "collectors of royal taxes." Can he be collectors of royal taxes from the foreigners ? See in this connexion, Stutterheim in *TBG*, 65, p. 253 and *TBG*, 67, p. 175 for. 7.

8. According to Van der Tuuk (KBWdb., IV, p. 616), he is a court officer charged with the reading (and) writing of letters. A person with similar work is even now called *mahuri* in India, at least in Bengal, if not in other parts of India. The word does not appear to be of Skt. origin. It is not even impossible that the similarity of titles and functions may be quite accidental, as the use of this title in ancient India is unknown to me. Dr. Stutterheim (*TBG* 65, p. 254), however brings the term in relation to *pangkur* i. e. chisel and says that this office might have originated from that of a *vrangka*-maker, shoeing smith, ivory-polisher or something similar. In the inscriptions, at any rate, the samget manghuri appears to be a higher officer than the *juru-s*. The term occurs in many East-Javanese documents as well and Berg devotes an elaborate note on it *in Mid. Jav. Hist. Trad.*, p. 19 ff.
9. The term hardly occurs in the inscriptions of Central Java. In Ādip. 4 (cf. Juynboll, *Lijst*), the term denotes the division of an army, but the meaning is hardly applicable here. Apparently it refers to a class of people whose functions are not quite clear.
10. Hawker.
11. *Mapakkan* is from peken=market. So ma+peken may indicate a market-Superintendent. cf. *TBG* 73 (1933) p. 101.
12. This passage seems rather obscure.

IX

THE STONE OF KAMALAGI (KUBURAN CAṆḌI) 743 SAKA.

This stone inscription was found in December, 1929, by Mr. E. W. Maurenbrecher, the Assistant Resident of Magĕlang, from the village of Bolong in *desa* Tĕgalsari of the district of Tĕgalrĕja residency of Magĕlang.[1] It is thus one of the oldest records from in the the region of Kĕdu. The record does not mention the name of any king. It is not possible, therefore, to determine under whose reign the present record was composed. It has been supposed by Dr. Goris[2] that it was promulgated during the time of king Garung, but as the date of the plate of Pĕngging,[3] in which the name of the king (*sic*) occurs, has been variously read as 751 and 861, the view of Goris is not above doubt. Goris read the Saka year as 753 but Damais,[4] read it as 743, the exact date corresponding to 30th April, 821 A. D.

The inscription records that the *pamgĕt* of Vuga marked out into a free-hold a partly cultivated *savaḥ*-field, a garden in Kamalagi and a dwelling-place of Nayaka. Among the witnesses we find spiritual personages with the title of *ḍapunta*, *hyang guru*, etc. Several officers or classes of people are also noticed for the first time in this inscription, though titled officers are only a few in number. So far as the language of the inscription is concerned, the confusion of ṇ with *n* and the use of *sandhi*-rules deserve particular attention.

The record has been edited by Dr. Goris[5] with text, translation and copious notes, and the following transcript is based upon that edition.

TEXT

RECTO

1. ‖ svasti śakavarṣātī
2. ta 743 māsa vaiṣā[6]

3. kha kṛṣṇapakṣa tithi daśa
4. mi[7] vāra tu va ang tatkāla sang pamgĕt
5. vuga pu mangnĕp manusuk sīma savaḥ
6. ri pihak[8] lavan kbuan ring kamalagī la
7. van pomahan nayaka rikana pamananggap
8. manurat sang anavarjjita jñāneśvara sang kari
9. dharmmacinta sākṣī hyang guru manggalī sang Śīva
10. mūrtti kabikuan ri hubrayan ḍapunta da
11. hana | hyang guru hulu(ng) vras ri sukun si
12. ... sang candrakumāra punta ni parama | umilu
13. rikāna sang kahurippan pu nayaka va
14. nua nira laṇḍung rama ṇi[9] maitri pa
15. tiḥ ri mangin siḍi si narada rama ṇi
16. lĕngkĕp kalang ri ngunungngan | si manghöm rama
17. ni mangajang patiḥ ri limpar si pagĕr rama ṇi mā
18. yanī si manam rama ṇi rĕgāgi | kalang ri ka
19. yyangan[10] si sumḍĕk rama ṇi kuñuḥ | ri sang mapatiḥ
20. ri sukun si vangun umilu | ri varagvarak gusti si
21. nanggap rama nīntap | gusti kidul si pangguḥ rama ṇi
22. kbĕl

VERSO

1. vinkas sīntap rama ṇi
2. bahaṇḍi | tuha vĕrĕḥ lor
3. si davan rama ṇi pak- | tuha vĕ
4. rĕḥ kidul si mada rama ṇi basa |
5. sang matuha kuri takurang | 10 si jakha
6. ra rama ṇi dahara | si paṇḍava rama ṇi
7. gavana | si baruṇa rama ni nandi | si kiśā
8. rama ni śani | si mandĕta rama ṇi maṇḍa |

9. si jakhara rama ṇi vḍĕ | syandag rama ṇi ra
10. van | si tari rama ṇi rahat | si vaḍag
11. rama ṇi nama | si tasik rama ṇi jana |
12. si tguḥ rama ni hibak | si mana rama ṇi
13. hibak paṇḍay | mapaḍahi si manggal
14. rama ṇi si uti | marggang si rahat rama ni maha
15. t | kaka sang nayaka rama ni pamo | mangi
16. dung sangkāri haji minanga si manghöm rama
17. ni mpan ‖

TRANSLATION

RECTO

1. ‖ Hail ! ‖ The Śaka year expired,
2. 743, the month of Vaiśākha,
3. tenth day of the dark half of the month,
4. *tunglai*,[11] *wage*,[12] Tuesday. At that time, the *Sang Pamget*
5. of Vuga[13] (viz.) *Pu* Mangnĕp marked out into a free-hold the *savah*-field at Pihak[14] and a garden (lying) in Kamalagi[15]
7. and a dwelling-place for Nayaka.[16] The receipt hereof
8. was written by *Sang* Anavarjjita Jñāneśvara (and) *Sang* Kari
9. who were *Dharmacintas*[17] Witnesses are : the *Hyang guru*[18] (of) Manggali[19] (viz) *Sang* Śiva-
10. mūrtti (belonging to) the cloister at Hubrayan;[20] the *ḍapunta*[21] (viz.) Da-
11. hana, the *hyang guru*; the *hulu(ng) vras*[22] of Sukun[23] (viz) Si[24]
12. ... *sang* Candrakumāra, the *punta*[25] of Parama. Followed
13. thereupon the lord of Kahurippan[26] (viz.) *Pu* Nayaka (and)
14. his villager (viz.) Laṇḍung, father of Maitri;[27] the *pa*-

15. *tih*[28] of Mangin siḍi (viz.) *Si* Narada, father of
16. Lĕngkĕp; the *Kalang*[29] of Ngunungngan[30] (viz.) *Si* Manghöm, father
17. of Mangajang; the *patih*(s) of Limpar (viz.) *Si* Pagĕr, father of Māyanī
18. (and) *Si* Manam, father of Rĕgāgi; the *Kalang* of Kahyangan[31]
19. (viz.) *Si* Sumḍĕk, father of Kuñuḥ; (the *Kalang*) of the *Sang mapatih*[32]
20. of Sukun (viz.) *Si* Vangun; in accompaniment with the *varag-varak gusti*[33] (viz.) *Si*
21. Nanggap, father of Intap; the *gusti* of the South[34] (viz.) Si Pangguḥ, father of
22. Kĕbĕl (or Tĕbĕl ?);

VERSO

1. the *vinkas*[35] (viz.) *Si* Intap, father of
2. Bahaṇḍi; the *tuha* *verĕḥ*[36] for the north
3. (viz.) *Si* Davan, father of Pak ...; the *tuha* *vĕ*-
4. *rĕḥ* for the south (viz.) *Si* Mada, father of Basa :
5. *sang matuha*-s[37] of Kuri (received) 10 (or, 1) *takurang*-s[38] : (Thus ?) *Si* Jakha-
6. ra, father of Dahara; *Si* Paṇḍava, father of
7. Gavana; *Si* Baruṇa, father of Nandi; *Si* Kiśā
8. father of Śani; *Si* Mandĕta, father of Maṇḍa;
9. *Si* Jakhara, father of Vḍĕ; *Si* Andag, father of Ra-
10. van;[39] *Si* Tari, father of Rahat : *Si* Vaḍag,
11. father of Nama; *si* Tasik, father of Jana;
12. *Si* Tguḥ, father of Hibak; *Si* Mana, father of
13. Hibak, the *paṇḍay*;[40] the *mapaḍahi*[41] viz Si Manggal,
14. father of Suti; the *marggang*[42] (viz) *Si* Rahat, father of Maha-
15. t; the *Kaka*[43] (viz) *Sang* Nayaka, father of Pamo; the *mangi*-
16. *dung*[44] hailing from Haji Minanga[45] (viz) *Si* Manghöm, father
17. of Mpan ‖

FOOTNOTES

1. *OV*, 1929, p. 159.
2. *TBG*, 70 (1930) p. 161.
3. *OV*, 1920, p. 136; *OV*, 1928, p. 65.
4. *BEFEO* 45 (1951) p. 13 f.n. 5.
5. *TBG*, 70 (1930) pp. 157-170;
6. Read: °śā.
7. Read: °mī.
8. See Damais, *BEFEO* 52 (1952) p. 26 f.n. 3. Goris read *Khi*pihak.
9. For *ṇi* we should read the usual *nl*.
10. Read: hyangan.
11. A day of the Mal.-Polynesian six-day week.
12. A day of the Mal.-Polynesian five-day week.
13. A place of the name of Vugang is mentioned in a copperplate of 829 Śaka now preserved in the Museum at Solo (*OV*, 1922, p. 85; *OV*, 1928, pp. 65-66). In *KO* I of 841 Śaka, we also notice a place of the name of Vuga (2 : 2). It is possible that these names refer to the same place.
14. Dr. Goris (*TBG*, 70, p. 159) reads the word as *khipihak* and thinks that it may be derived from *pihak* or *piyak*, i. e. part, half. If the reading of Goris is accepted the meaning will be: ...marked out into a freehold a partly cultivated *savah* field and.....
15. The present inscription shows that *desa* Kamalagi lay in Tĕgalreja. From this point of view, its reference in *KO* X of 802 Saka (Pl. Ia: 5) as a copper-smiths' *desa* is important. It is probable that these two places are identical. As Dr. Goris says (*op. cit.*, p. 170), this Kamalagi may be identified with the mod. Klagĕn.
16. As *nayaka* is also an official title, it is not clear if this should be regarded here as a personal name or a title. The difficulty is increased by the fact that among the witnesses we find a person who undoubtedly bore the name of Nayaka (r°. 13; v°. 15).
17. Other inscriptions reveal that it is an official title of persons connected with engraving of edicts. Goris has remarked that Dharmmacinta may also be the name of a place or a cloister. In that case the translation will be".....*Sang* A. J. from Dharmma'." The title *sang* (*sa+ng*) is used before the names of particular honour. See Kern, *VG*, VIII, pp. 163-164.
18. The title of *hyang guru* or *guru hyang* (lit. 'worshipful teacher') is found in some of the oldest records from the Dieng region (see OJO XCVII, XCIX CI etc). Krom writes hereover in *Meded. Kon. AK. v. Wet. Afd. Lett.*, 58 (1924) p. 214. The titles *Hyang* and *Sang hyang*, not only indicate divinity but also superhuman, supernatural power possessed by a variety of beings, things and places. From the imprecations in the curse-formula, as will appear below, *hyang* or *sang hyang* also refer to spirits or spiritual beings cf. Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth century, Vol.* II (1960) p. 3.
19. Dr. Goris remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 169) that this Manggalī reminds one of Śrī manggala of OJO XI (796 Śaka). His identification has been contested by Stutterheim in *TBG*, 74 (1934) pp. 89 ff.
20. Goris incorporates *Kabikaun ri hubrayan* in the following construction and translates accordingly.
21. This title is generally applied before the names of spiritual persons. *cf. OJO* XCVII, XCIX, CI, etc. The mention of these ecclesiastical personages as witnesses in early land-grants from Dieng and Kĕdu is interesting.
22. He is the chief over unpealed rice.
23. Sukun of this inscription is evidently the name of a place and, according to Goris (*op. cit*), it lay in Tumĕnggung. The name indeed appears in *OJO* IV, XVII; *KO* XV and the Kĕdu inscription of Balitung (*TBG* 67, pp. 172-215), but it is doubtful if all of them refer to a place-name.
24. *Si* is generally used before names that are not particularly famous. For details see Kern, *VG* VIII, p 165.
25. It corresponds to 'lord'. *cf. OJO* IV: 14. Pu+nta, Da+pu+nta, Ra+ma+nta seem to have the same base *nta*.
26. According to Goris (*op cit.*), this Kahurip(p)an=*desa* Koripan (inv no. 712) and is to be distinguished from Kahuripan of *KO* I and *OV*, 1925, pp. 59-60, where the place is perhaps to be taken as Kuripan, the plain about Baratĕngah (inv. no. 1034).
27. It should be noted here that there is no criterion to decide where *rāma* should signify 'the functionary of the village' and where it should denote 'father'. In the present volume I have generally maintained the view that when *rāma* precedes the proper name (beginning with si, mpu, etc.), it should denote an official title. When it is used after that it should signify 'father'. Over *rama* and *ramanta*, see Stutterheim in *TBG*, 73, pp. 100-101; 74, pp. 87-88.
28. While editing the previous Sanskrit inscriptions, it has been remarked that the *patih* of this time is a petty officer. He is certainly not like the great *patih-s* under Daksa, Balitung etc. *cf.* Goris (*op. cit.*, p. 163).
29. The function and origin of these people are not known. Some have considered them to be descendants of war-prisoners or the primitive people of the country, even a low-class people with un-Javanese elements. According to Rouffaer (*Ency. v. Ned. Ind.*, III, 2nd ed., p. 371) these people came from Pegu, Kĕlang and Kĕdah. See also *TBG*, 62 (1923), pp. 515-547. The term sometimes means 'a carpenter', but this has not probably been intended here.
30. Goris says (*op. cit.*, pp. 169-170) that here we have probably to do with a *desa* on a hill in the neighbourhood of Kamalagi, perhaps with Gunung Balak. A village of the name of Gunungan is however known from other sources also. *cf.* the plates of Kĕmbang Arum, 824 Śaka, Pl. I : 16 (*OV*, 1925, Bijl. B).

31. It may also mean the united body of a class of religious people.
32. Another possible translation is that of Goris : "...Kuñuh : with the (*ma*) *patih*..."
33. The significance of the whole title is unknown to me. So far as *gusti* is concerned, it is probably the title of petty village-official. In mod. Bali, it denotes a member of the *Vaiśya*-caste. In some inscriptions, *KO* I for example, we find *tuha banua* and *vinkas* included in the list of *gusti*-s. Dr. Pigeaud observes (*Java in the fourteenth Century*, IV (1962) p. 440 ff : "In Javanistic Muhammedan mysticism the words refer to the relation between God and man... ..probably the 14th century East-Javanese *gustis* were men of some standing in their communities by their descent from old families. They did not belong to the gentry, though. As a (military) rank in the *Nāg. gusti* is rendered : Yeomen. Obviously, the office underwent an evolutionary process.
34. The import of the passage is not clear to me. Perhaps it refers to two divisions (*kidul* and *lor*) of the *gusti*-s.
35. Kern (*VG*, VII, p. 43) translates the word by 'clerk', Dr. Stutterheim (*TBG* 73, p. 10?) by 'substitute'.
36. Literally, *Tuha Vereḥ* is the chief over young (unmarried) persons. Dr Goris says in this connexion (*op. cit.*, p. 164) that in the temples of North Bali at the present day, visitors are divided as adult men, married women, unmarried youths and unmarried girls. At the head of one such group, stood the *tuha vereḥ*. I should refer to *KO* I of 841 Śaka (pl. 2 : 13) where 4 *tuha vereḥ-s* appear to be mentioned.
37. Lit. 'the olders.'
38. *Takurang* appears to be a kind of cloth and is referred to in comparatively older inscriptions. *cf. OJO* IV.

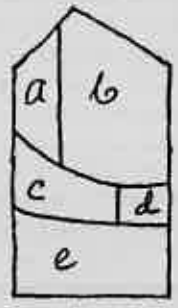
    Dr. Juynboll's translation (*Lijst*, p. 218) of the term for these inscriptions is doubtful.
39. Some Paurāṇic and epic names of India occur in this inscription and they deserve particular attention. Such are the following : Narada, Paṇḍava, Baruṇa, Nandi and Ravan. They remind us of Nārada, Pāṇḍava, Varuṇa, Nandī and Rāvaṇa.
40. Smith.
41. *Mapaḍahi* means, 'the head-drummer' or 'tambur-major.' Goris refers to J. Kunst, *Hindoe-Javaansche muziekinstrumenten*, pp. 10-11, 84 and tables A and B. See also the translation of the term by Stutterheim in *TBG*, 73, p. 101 ; 75, p. 435.
42. The head of the cymbal-players.
43. Such as Goris has remarked (*op. cit.*, p. 160 f.n. 1), *kaka* may be equated with *kaka(ng)*, i.e., older brother. *kaki*, however, frequently appears in Old-Javanese inscriptions in the sense of the 'older of the *desa* : or 'grandfather.' In Bengal the same terms (*kaka*, *kakī*) are respectively used to denote uncle and aunt. They seem to betray Austric origin. See also R. A. Kern in *BKI*, 101 (1942) pp. 95-96.
44. This is usually translated by 'Ballad-singers." Stutterheim thinks (*TBG*, 75, p.435, f.n. 4) that the translation of the term by 'actor' is perhaps more suitable, because, these persons represent ballads by singing and dancing. For earlier literature, see Kern, *VG*, VII. p. 48 ; Hazeu, *Het Javaansche toneel*, pp 49-51

and f.ns. ; Pigeaud, *Tantu*, p. 237 f.n. 1 and p. 238 ; *TBG*, 65, p. 265 ; Berg, *Mid. Jav. Hist. Trad.*, p. 19 f.n. 1 ; *TBG*, 70, p. 165.
45. The annotation and interpretation of this passage by Goris do not appeal to me, as I consider Haji minanga to be simply a place-name and nothing more. Names like Śri (Tri ?) Haji (*OJO* IV : 15), Haji huma (*TBG*, 67, p. 208), Tambak haji (*OJO* XXXVI : V. 15) etc. are quite well-known.

X

THE STONE OF KAYUMVUNGAN (KARANG-TĔNGAH) 746 ŚAKA.

This stone inscription was obtained from Karangtengah in the Temanggung division of the residency of Kĕdu. It has been broken into five fragments, whereof *a*, *c* and *d* were reported lost.[1] Indeed, *a* and *d* have vanished without leaving any trace behind, while *c* was present for sometime at the controller's house at Magĕlang.[2] and was subsequently brought over to Jakarta. It measures 50 c.m. at the top, 46 c.m. below; on the sides it measures 21 and 45 c.m. respectively.[3] For impressions of this fragment, one is referred to *Notulen* 1869, Bijl. N; 1876, Bijl. I, no 18, II no. 17; a plaster-cast is also present at the Leiden Ethn. Mus.[4], where it is numbered 2994.



Dr. Brandes noted further that this fragment opens with Sanskrit verses and that line 15 of this fragment begins a *praśasti*. The fragments *b* and *e* are present at the Batavia Museum where they are numbered D. 27 and D 34.[5] Of the first, there is no transcription, but an impression forms Oudh. Bur. nos. 235 and 236; of the second, an impression forms nos. 113 and 219 in the Oudh. Bur.[6], while its plaster-cast is no. 2982 at the Leiden Ethn. Mus.[7] Of the latter fragment, Dr. Brandes says[8] that it is the lowest portion of a stone of fallow-gray colour, with 17 lines of writing in a very small Old-Javanese script of Central Java. It measures 39 c.m. in height, 58 in breadth and 10 in thickness.[9]

De Casparis has published a fuller transcription of this inscription in *Prasasti Ind. I* pp. 38-41. The fragments *c* and *e* have been transcribed in

OJO where they bear no. IV. According to Brandes,[10] the record is dated in 769 Śaka, but Drs. Juynboll[11] and Goris[12] read the year as 710 Saka. According to Damais[13], the year recorded here is 7(4)6 and the date corresponds to 26th May, 824 A. D.

Detailed palaeographical notes regarding this inscription have been furnished by de Casparis, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-31. The inscription belongs to the category of a bi-lingual charter which is somewhat a rare phenomenon in Java. The first part called A is a Sanskrit inscription in verses, while the second one, called B, is an Old-Javanese inscription, both engraved on the same stone. The Sanskrit part of the inscription seems to have emanated from a king called Samarottuṅga (V. 8), who, according to de Casparis, might have been mentioned in v. 5 which begins with the letter Śai. It seems from a study of v. 8 and 10 that the king had a daughter named Prāmodavarddhanī, who has received inordinate attention from the pen of the panegyrist. The principal person in the Old-Javanese part of the inscription is rakarayān Patapān, Pu Palar (l. 25-26).[14] It does not appear probable at the present state of our knowledge that the Sailendra king of the Sanaskrit part is identical with Pu Palar of the Old-Javanese part. Although the relation between these two cannot be exactly determined now, it does not seem impossible that the latter is an officer under the Sailendra king or the king himself.

The following metres have been used in the Sanskrit part of the inscription : Sragdharā, v. 1-3, 15; Vasantatilaka, v. 4-9, 12; Āryā, v. 10; Śārdūlavikrīḍita, v. 11; Anuṣṭubh, v. 13, 14.

The text, as given below, is based upon the transcription of de Casparis.

TEXT

A. (1) — — — — ⏑ — — (amitava)la mahāvajraparyyaṅkavaddhaḥ
rakṣatv=āmūlasiṃho bhavajabhavacarātyantasaṃkru-(2) ⏑ — ⏑ |
— — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ matarahitoṭtuṅgaśailasthaśūro
yat = sajjīvāparasmāravalam=akhila—(3)— ⏑ — —⏑ — ⏑ ॥ 1 ॥

— — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ varavaśavatāsāditādharmmavṛndān
lokānāṃ laukyavuddhair = agaditam = atu(la) (4)— — — ⏑ — ⏑ ।
— — — — ⏑ — — cchidam = akhilabhavavyādhibhaiṣajyam = agraṃ
saddharmaṃ yukticittaḥ praṇama(ti) (5) ⏑ ⏑ — — — — ⏑ — ⏑ ॥ 2 ॥
— —t = kāruṇyam = agrañ = jagati gatiśatānantaduḥkhābhibhūte
bhaktisvīyā ⏑ (6) — — ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑ — — ⏑ — —⏑ mānām ।
prītyā rājā tale daṇḍadharatulamahājñānapuṇyaprasūti
(7)— — — — ⏑ — — ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑ — — ⏑tām = vandyavandyaḥ ॥3॥
śrīmat = samastasugatais = sasutaiḥ parāntyaḥ
nīrukta- (8)— ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ।
— — ⏑ — —tsu taruṇām = atha duḥkhiteṣu
sattveṣu vuddhacariteṣu garīyasīñ = ca ॥ 4 ॥
śraddhāñ = ca (9) — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑
— — ⏑ — lāgraguṇavadgaṇam = atyavāśi ।
lebhe vigūḍhamanujendragaṇān = mahiṣyaṃ
śai(10)(lendravaṃśatilaka) ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ॥ 5 ॥
vistīrṇṇasaṅga ⏑ ⏑ — pyananāmvupūrṇṇa-
prauḍhadviṣadvikasitāmvujalocanāni
(11) tanmaṇḍalā ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑
nītyasmṛtāni sahasaiva samākucanti ॥ 6 ॥
caṇḍapratāpaparitāpitabhūribhū(12)paḥ
santāpapāvanama(tiḥ) ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ।
— — guṇo'pi hirapītakaro'vadātaḥ
sācātirānubhavatoṣavivi(13)ktacittaḥ ॥ 7 ॥
śrīmān = asau samaratuṅga iti kṣitī(ndraḥ)
— —⏑ — ⏑ śavidhām = adharo mahīyān ।
tasyātivallabhatarā (14) duhiteha cakre
grāme jināḷayam = araṃ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ॥ 8 ॥
(sā svā)mibhūpaguṇaśīlavibhūṣanākhyā
strai(15)ṇāgamāvirahitā karuṇātmikā ca ।

rārajyate na ⏑ titārya ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑
— — ⏑ — rāntaviśayeṣu karo(16)ti bhaktim ॥ 9 ॥
sā kāntiñ = candramaso gatiñ = ca haṅsāt = svarañ = ca kalaviṅkāt
sekṣane mṛgīṇāṁ(17)harati śrīmat = prāmodavarddhanīkhyātā ॥10॥
śākaindryāṃ rasasāgarakṣitidharair = yyāntyāṃ sa mā(se śucau)
— — — ⏑ (18) ca rāmapakṣavasato kāṣṭātithau tatra ca ।
tuṃlaināma-umānis = ākhyasahite vāre purāṇād = gu(rau)
— (19)pte śrīghanaanātham = āryyasahitaṃ prātiṣṭhipan mandire ॥ 11 ॥
tacchenduvimvaśakalapratimam = vibhāti
rāhor = bhiyā sapa(20)di sampatitaṃ dharitryāṃ ।
tasyānupuṇyam = atha vedim = udeti bhūbhṛt
vṛddhais = sakṛtyataruṇair = uṣitaṃ manojña(21)m ॥ 12 ॥
śrīmadveṇuvanābhikhyam = vidhāya jinamandiraṃ
yat = puṇyam = āptam = etena daśad = āpnotu saugatam ॥ 13 ॥
padam = atyantaduṣprāpam = anuttaram = agocaram ।
tatsutānāṃ mayā yuktaṃ tūrṇṇam = eva labbeya yat ॥ 14 ॥
aurvvāgnir = yā(va)(23)d = uṣṇaśvasanavaśagatākṣanyadam = bodhidṛṣṭyā
yāvat = prāntā dharitrī vivudhagaṇasamākrāntamūrttiś = ca meruḥ ।
yāva(t khe)(24)svān = gabhastīn = daśaśataganānām = ujjhati
vyomavṛtraḥ
— — — — ⏑ — — sugataguṇaganas = tāvad = āstām = vihāraḥ ॥ 15 ॥

B. (25) svasti śakavarṣātīta 746 jyeṣṭamāsa[16] daśamī krĕṣṇapakṣa tunglai umanis vrĕhaspativāra tatkāla rakarayān (patapā)

(26) n pu palar sang laki-laki pu palar anakabi mavaiḥ savaḥ sīma arikiva luang ing babadan lmaḥ ri...

(27) k viniḥnya ha 3 i kisir lmaḥ ri kayumvungan viniḥnya ha 1 vha 1 i sāntvi karung lmaḥ ri ptir viniḥnya ha 6 ing kaliru...

(28) n viniḥnya hat 3 ing kuling viniḥnya ha 3 lmaḥ ri tri haji ekapiṇḍa viniḥnya ha 16 vha 1 tatra sākṣī si ravan si……

(29) siḥ vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 sisim 1 suhan-suhan 1 si maṇḍakṣa sang lua paṇḍak anakbanua i *ji*……

(30) takurang yu 1 simsim 1 tasintanamu sang kaniryyan anak banva i valingbing vatak si……

(31) 1 vadvā sang makudur kinon umadagga sang anak banva magavai ri havuryyan ra……

(32) karhyang vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 si bahas rama ni *mai*……vi…

(33) ……kalima si habak…… …

(34)

(35) ……hlai 1 kalamvi 1 punukan 1 su-

(36) ……mañjan rama ni pagar vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 juru si jati rama ni svara vinaiḥ

(37) takurang yu 1 i sukun si madhava rama ni bhavana vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 i varingin juru si lañcang rama

(38) ni nari vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 i vuatan kalima si mangga rama ni napal vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 i paṇḍa

(39) kyan juru si rindang rama ni gunung vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 i ptir juru si vikrama rama ni dhara vinaiḥ takurang

(40) yu 1 rama si pingul rama ni ambari vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 kalima si kunvurama rama ni taji vinaiḥ takurang yu

(41) 1 putiḥ hlai 1 kalambi 1 punukan 1 suhan-suhan 1 i lua-paṇḍak kalima si kalap rama ni nanta vi-

(42) naiḥ takurang yu 1 putiḥ hlai 1 kalamvi 1 punukan 1 suhan-suhan 1 juru si danaka rama ni dara vinaiḥ

(43) takurang yu 1 parvuvus si hrĕm rama nyavak vinaiḥ takuramg yu 1 i tri haji rama si pañca rama ni tīrtha vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 si-

(44) liḥ juru si śangkara rama ni carmi vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 parvuvus si gunung rama ni rasal vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 parvuvus

(45) si katil rama ni buvi vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 variga si sumbut rama ni siddha vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 juru matuha syavit rama

(46) ni ayat vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 kalima si sampū rama ni bamung vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 si pañca rama ni hrĕng vinaiḥ takurang yu 1

(47) putiḥ hlai 1 kalamvi 1 lukai 1 punukan 1 vadung 1 patuk krĕs 1 parvuvus sang kayumvungan si haras rama ni

(48) vikrami anakbanva i tyusan vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 parvuvus sang mantyāsih sang kīrti punta ni nabha anak banva ri

(49) tri haji vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 parvuvus sang lva paṇḍak si kbal rama ni jamin anak banva ri tri haji vinaiḥ takurang

(50) yu 1 tuhalas ri hulu luvas = si silpa rama ni yada vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 tuhalas ri kaṇḍangan lamvas = si

(51) saruḥ rama ni kuting vinaiḥ takurang yu 1 kinon rakai pata-pān (rest lacking)

TRANSLATION

1. May the hero of immeasurable might, seated in the great *vajrāsana* on the loftyhill,[15] he born in the world and moving in the world,……a lion (among men) to the very tip…… may he protect the whole world of innocent beings, free from the power of Smāra (the god of Love)
2. To *dharmmas* achieved by the supremely strong, to the excellent incomparable dharmma not explained to the people by mundane Buddhas, which is the prime medicine for the ills of life, the right-thinking people pay homage.
3. Supreme compassion to the world grievously overwhelmed by sorrows of hundreds of births,…… with pleasure the king, equal on earth to Yama (in justice), the source of supreme

knowledge and merit,..... ..worthy to be venerated by the venerable.

4. By all the exalted Sugatas together with their sons...the queller of enemies...(bearing) young (love) for all troubled creatures, and supreme love for the doings of Buddha,
5. He rendered devotion.....surpassed the multitude of virtues, he obtained his greatness from the hiding rulers of men, (an ornament of the) Śai(lendra dynasty)
6. .....the eyes of mature-grown enemies resembling lotuses in bloom, full of tears, close suddenly...
7. By whose furious prowess many kings were tormented ; who had inclination to remove distress.....with gold-like yellow hands. In satisfying the feeling of the supplicants and the afflicted (?), he was of steady pure mind.
8. He, the exalted one, a great king bearing the name Samarattuṅga,[16] possessing (great) prowess. His most beloved daughter constructed in this village the everlasting temple of Jina.
9. She, adorned with the Royal Master's nature and virtues (but) not without womanly excellence and possessing a compassionate heart.....showed respects to.....
10. She, known as Prāmodavarddhanī[17], steals loveliness from the Moon, gait from the swan, voice from the cuckoo and eyes from the deer.
11. In the Saka year passing with the (six) savours, four seas and seven mountains (i.e. in the year 746), in the month of Jyaiṣṭha (or Āṣāḍha),[18] on the last day of the dark fortnight, on the day *tunglai*, *umanis*, on Thursday, he installed in a temple, accroding to the *purāṇas*, (the image of) the illustrious Ghananātha[19] (the lord of clouds i.e. Indra) with others worthy of worship.
12. That (image) shines as a piece of the Moon just fallen to the earth for fear of Rāhu. Thereafter the king, in accordance with his merit, ascended[20] together with the elders the altar built by the younger people.
13. With the merit that he acquired by building the temple of Jina which is given the name beautiful *Veṇuvana*[21] (bamboo-forest), may he (the king) attain Sugatahood ten-fold (?).[22]
14. The stage invisible, immediate, extremely difficult to attain,

is for his sons together with myself, which I may attain soon.

15. So long as the underground fire (volcanic fire) breathing hot remains, as the wise see, unsuppressed through the openings which are in its control, so long as the earth remains, and the Meru inhabited by the gods remains[23] also, so long as Vṛtra of the sky (i.e. the Sun) scatters his own rays, a thousand in count, so long may last the *vihāra*, the assemblage of the virtues of Sugata.

B. 25. Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 746, the month of Jyaiṣṭha, tenth day of the dark half of the month, *tunglai*,[24] *umanis*,[25] thursday. At that time the *rakarayān* (Patapā)n was

26. *Pu* Palar. (Now) the husband *Pu* Palar (and his) wife[26] gave away *savah*-fields (i.e. irrigated fields) in free-hold tenure: those at Kiva and at Babadan, grounds of.....
27. their yield was *hamat*[27] 3; at Kisir, grounds of Kayumvungan,[28] their yield was *hamat* 1 *vha* 1; at Sāntvi Karung, grounds of Pĕtir, their yield was *hamat* 6; at Kaliru.....
28. n, their yield was *hamat* 3; at Kuling, their yield was *hamat* 3 : (these last) are the grounds of Tri haji. Their total yield was *hamat* 16 *vha* 1. Thereof the witnesses are *Si* Ravan, *Si*...
29. sih (who) received 1 pair *takurang* cloth, 1 ring, 1 *suhan-suhan* (a kind of implement). *Si* Maṇḍakṣa, the lord of Lua Paṇḍak, resident of Ji ...(received)
30. 1 pair of *takurang*, 1 ring. Those (others) who came (?) were *Sang* Kaniryyan, resident of Valingbing under *Si*...
31. 1, the *vadvā*[29] of *Sang Maukdur* was charged to stand by the villagers (and) gave them for merriment.....
32. .....*hyang* received *takurang* 1 pair, *Si* Bahas, father of Mai ..... received
33. .....*Kalima* (named) *Si* Habak .....
34.
35. .....*hlai*-sheet (of cloth) 1, *kalamvi* (jacket) 1, *punukan* (grass-cutter) 1, *su(han-suhan* 1)
36. .....Mañjan, father of Pagar received *takurang* 1 pair, the *Juru* (named) *Si* Jati, father of Svara, received

37. *takurang* 1 pair; (the *Juru*) of Sukun (named) Si Madhava,[30] father of Bhavana received *takurang* 1 pair ; the *juru* of Varingin (named) Si Lañcang, father
38. of Nari received *takurang* 1 pair; the *kalima*[31] of Vuatan (named) Si Mangga, father of Napal received *takurnag* 1 pair; the *juru* of Paṇḍa--
39. kyan (named) Si Rindang, father of Gunung received 1 pair *takurang*; the *juru* of Ptir (named) *Si* Vikrama, father of Dhara received *takurang*
40. 1 pair; the *rama* (i.e. village-elder) (named) *Si* Pingul, father of Ambari, received *takurang* 1 pair; the *kalima* (named) *Si* Kunvurama, father of Taji received *takurang* 1 pair,
41. white *hlai*-sheet 1, *kalambi* 1, *punukan* 1, *suhan-suhan* 1; the *kalima* of Luapaṇḍak (named) Si Kalap, father of Nanta
42. received *takurang* 1 pair, white *hlai*-sheet 1, *kalamvi* 1, *punukan* 1, *suhan-suhan* 1; the *juru* (named) *Si* Danaka, father of Dara, received
43. *takurang* 1 pair; the *parvuvus*[32] (named) *si* Hrĕm, father o Avak[33] received *takurang* 1 pair; the *rama* of Tri haji (named) *Si* Pañca, father of Tīrtha, received *takurang* 1 pair.
44. The acting-*juru* (named) *Si* Sangkara, father of Carmi received *takurang* 1 pair; the *parvuvus* (named) *Si* Gunung, father of Rasal received *takurang* 1 pair; the *parvuvus*
45. (named) si Katil, father of Buvi received *takurang* 1 pair, the *variga*[34] (named) *Si* Sumbut, father of Siddha, received *takurang* 1 pair; the *juru matuha* (i.e. the senior *juru*) (named) *Si* Avit,[35] father
46. of Ayat received *takurang* 1 pair; the *kalima* (named) *Si* Sampū, father of Bamung, received *takurang* 1 pair; *Si* Pañca, father of Hrĕng, received *takurang* 1 pair,
47. white *hlai*-sheet 1, *kalamvi* 1, *lukai* (curved chopper), 1, *punukan* 1, *vadung* (axe) 1, *patuk* (pick-axe) 1, *kris* (dagger) 1; the *parvuvus* (of the lord of) Kayumvungan (named) Si Haras, father of
48. Vikrami, resident of Tyusan, received *takurang* 1 pair; *parvuvus* (of the lord of) Mantyāsih (named) *Sang* Kīrti (who is) the *punta*[36] of Nabha and resident of

49. Tri haji received *takurang* 1 pair; the *parvuvus* of (the lord of) Lva paṇḍak (named) *Si* Kbal, father of Jamin, resident of Tri haji, received *takurang*
50. 1 pair; the *tuhalas* of Hululuvas (named) *Si* Silpa, father of Yada, received *takurang* 1 pair; the *tuhalas*[37] of Kaṇḍangan (and ?) Lamvas (named) *Si*
51. Saruḥ, father of Kuting received *takurang* 1 pair. By the *rakai Patapān* was ordered.....(rest lacking)

FOOTNOTE

1. *OJO*, p. 4.
2. Verbeek, *Oudheden*, p. 138; *OJO*, p. 4.
3. A slightly different measurement is given by Juynboll in *Katalog V*, p. 233, viz. height 45 and 25, breadth 47 c.m.
4. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 233.
5. Verbeek, *op. cit.*; *OJO*, *op. cit.*; *Rapp.*, 1911, p. 58.
6. *OJO*, *op. cit.*
7. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 232.
8. *Catalogus Groeneveldt*, p. 384.
9. A slightly different measurement is given by Juynboll, *op. cit.*
10. *OJO*, p. 5.
11. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, 233.
12. *TBG*, 70, p. 100, f.n. 5.
13. *BEFEO*, 46 (1952) p. 27 and f.n. 6. De Casparis also reads the year as 746 Śaka.
14. The *rakarayān* patapan of 746 Śaka is *Pu* Palar, that of 772 Śaka is *Pu* Manukū. There are difficulties in the way of identifying *Pu* Palar with *Pu* Manukū or any one of them with a Śailendra-king or a ruler of the Mantyasih charter (no. 70)
15. The conception seems to underline the close association of the Śailendras with Mahāyāna Buddhism. While the general background of the inscription, particularly the use of the word *vajrāsana*, leaves the stamp of Mahāyāna Buddhism, it states further that this *vajrāsana* is 'uttuṅga śailastha' i.e. located on lofty hill. The phrase lofty hill is obviously a synonym for Śailendra. The *uttuṅga śaila* i.e. Śailendra therefore supported the vajrāsana. In other

words, the Śailendra-dynasty has sustained the Mahāyāna Buddhism of that region.

16. De Casparis (*op.cit.*, p. 187) considers Samarottuṅga to be the founder of Barabudur. Considering the nature and value of all available data, the view has yet to command general acceptance of scholars, but there is nothing inherently improbable in it. This king has sometimes been identified with Samarāgravīra, the son of the king of Yavabhūmi referred to in the Nālandā charter (*EI*, 17, pp. 310-27). See Coedès, *Les etats etc* p. 184ff.

17. De Casparis has postulated (*op.cit.*,p.133) that Samarottuṅga had one daughter called Prāmodavarddhanī, as stated in the present record, and one son called Bālaputradeva, who has been mentioned in the Nālandā charter. This, of course, depends upon the identity of Samarottuṅga with Samarāgravīra. In case they are identical, Prāmodavarddhanī would appear to be the eldest issue of the king and Bālaputradeva (the Hon. young prince) her younger brother, possibly through a junior queen. In view of the many uncertainties regarding the chronology of the Śailendra-kings of Central Java, the dates assigned by de Casparis in certain cases would violently shake the Pāla-chronology and the synchronism established thereunder. One should therefore be cautious in accepting some of the dates proposed by him.

18. When the month Suci is specified, as has been done here, it refers to the month of Jyaiṣṭha or Āṣāḍha; otherwise it would refer, in a general way, to the summer months. The Old-Javanese portion of the inscription indicates however that the month contemplated is indeed Jyaiṣṭha.

19. As suggested by de Casparis (*op.cit.*,pp. 139-40). Śrī Ghananātha seems to refer to the Śailendra-king Indra, who has been mentiond in the Kĕlurak inscription (no. 6). According to the view of de Casparis (*op,cit.*,p 204) Indra must have died about 812 A.D. The present record obviously refers to his deification, as was customary in many regions of India and South-East Asia. It is noteworthy that the installation of the image of Ghananātha was attended with the installation of other images as well.

20. This śloka is rather obscure in some places. It is stated in śloka 8 that his daughter constructed the Jina-templ. This seems to be confirmed by the use of words "altar built by the younger people." Both of them cannot construct the same temple. It might therefore mean that the temple and the altar (sanctum sanctorum) were constructed by the king's daughter with the help of other younger people and the king's part was confined to the installation of Ghananātha's image. If this be so, how are we to explain the statement in śloka 13 where it has been recorded that he acquired merit dy building the temple of Jina? Perhaps we have to understand this statement by imagining that, since the daughter was constructing the temple, the father had naturally some share in the merits accruing from this work due to his association with it.

The second problem created by this śloka is the ascent of the king on the *vedi* of sanctum sanctorum. I do not understand why it has been mentioned at all, as it is by no means an important phenomenon worthy of being recorded. Perhaps it may indicate that the king ascended on the altar to pay respects to deities or deified beings installed there.

21. This *veṇuvana* reminds one of its namesake in Rājagṛha.
22. As the word is *daśad*, it is doubtful if it can mean ten-fold.
23. The last śloka is very interesting. It refers, on the one hand, to the dormant volcanoes of Java and, on the other, refers to the Mt. Meru inhabited by Divine beings. According to Javanese tradition, the Mt. Meru was brought over to Java from Jambudvīpa and its pressure violently depressed one part of the island till it was balanced.
24. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
25. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
26. This may indicate that the wife had some amount of control over the property to be disposed of. *Cf.* also no. 95 below. See also Stutterheim in *TBG* 1935, p. 459.
27. A kind of unit in weight. *Vha* which follows seems to be=½ *hamat*.
28. See Damais in *BEFEO* 46 (1942) p. 27 f. n. 5.
29. The word *vadva*, also written as *vaduā* in some inscriptions, signifies a class of servants or an army. The former class of people is perhaps meant here, but their status apparently depended upon whom they served.
30. Or *Sī* Madhava of Sukun, father of.....
31. *Kalima* (from: *lima* meaning five) means the fifth. It might appear from this that the original no. was four, to which one was added at least in the beginning of the 9th century A. D., if not earlier. If we attribute democratic behaviour to the old tribal organisation of Central Java, as seems likely, the addition of the fifth man might have been necessitated to avoid a tie in disputed judgment. If practice in Bengal, which has a long past history in this regard be any guide, the Board of Five or 'the *pañcāyat*, as it is called now, was a Board of Conciliation for settlement of village disputes which were not taken to the law-court. I do not know if the *kalima* refers to such an institution. If it does, it implies that each village in old Java had at least one conciliation board consisting of five *kalimas*.
32. *Parvuvus*, *parujar*, *mamuat ujar*, *mamuat vuvus* etc signify: proxy or representative. Their status, like that of the *vadva*, perhaps depended upon whom they served. It is not impossible that they had similar but not identical functions.
33. The writer has employed Skt. Sandhi-rule here.
34. The village astrologer. His function seems to have consisted in forecasting good and bad days, specially in connexion with the sowing and harvesting of rice and other crops, birth and death of people and auspicious time of the day and night. These people existed and still exist in India and considerable part of South-East Asia. Skeat in his Malay Magic (1900), p. 544 ff. has devoted some attention to the subject and has described how it has flourished in Malaya.
35. The writer has employed Skt. Sandhi-rule here.
36. Pu+nta. It corresponds to 'Lord.' See f.n. 25, p. 61 above.
37. Inspector or surveyor of forests.

XI

THE STONE OF PU HAVANG GĔLIS (GAṆḌASULI I), 749 ŚAKA.

This stone inscription was obtained from Gaṇḍasuli in the Tĕmanggung division of the residency of Kĕdu. It was later on brought to *desa* Deva Karajan (Divak), and subsequently transferred to the Controller's residence at Magĕlang. The inscription was reported to be lost by Verbeek[1] as early as 1891 and has not since been traced.

An impression of this inscription has also been mentioned in the *Notulen* for 1869 (Bijl. N.) and for 1876 (Bijl. I no. 17, II no 18), but this is no longer present at Batavia.[2] A plaster-cast is however reported to be extant in the Leiden Ethn. Mus. where it is no. 2993.[3] The inscription measures 49 c.m. in height and 20/21 c.m. in breadth.

The date of the inscription has been read as 769 Śaka by Brandes, while Dr. Goris[4] proposed to read the year as 709. Damais[5] reads the date as 749, the exact date being 7th May, 827. So far as the present data go, it appears to me that the inscription may refer to the foundation of a free-hold (11. 17-18), perhaps by the wife of (ta)ṇḍḍa Pu havang glis.[6]

A decent translation of this inscription is not possible at the present moment on account of its obscure language and mutilated condition. Below is, therefore, presented only the text of the inscription from *OJO* III.

TEXT

1. svasti śakavarṣātīta
2. 749 jyeṣṭamāsa ti
3. thi aṣṭami śuklapakṣa
4. vagai vāra hri[7] pa
5. hing tatkāla (ta)ndda pu ha
6. vang glis anakvbi sipirākhu
7. t vĭki (nga) naya hu
8. minamaḥkan Panglivattan
9. 1 padamaran 1 pamapi(r)nya

10. ngan 6 curi(ng) 1 nihan praca[8]
11. ktiṇḍa ḍang puhava(ng) glis
12. tatra sākṣĭ ḍapunta likha
13. ḍapunta śurādrĭ hyang guru
14. gavai hyang guru *govar*
15. likhita kubba ḍangan
16. ḍi pabvaya y ḍa
17. ḍang pu vang glis cihna
18. ṇḍati palupaḍi sima
19. ṇḍa ‖

Footnotes

1. *Oudheden*, p. 139.
2. *OJO* (1913) p. 3.
3. Juynboll, *Katalog* V, p. 233. The author reads here the date of the inscription as 709.
4. *TBG*, 70 (1930) pp. 160, 163. See also Bosch in *TBG*, 81 (1941) p. 36.
5. *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 28 and f. n. 2.
6. This inscription has been supposed to refer to a sea-captain, and this fact has been adduced as a possible explanation for the curious language of *OJO* CV, which is also obtained from Gaṇḍasuli and is to be dated not long after the date of the present inscription. While I do not deny that the language of *OJO* CV markedly differs from Old-Javanese and strongly reminds one of the peculiarities of Malay (Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p. 155), it appears to me that the supposed reference to a sea-captain is not above doubt.

   The name of the person in question is *taṇḍa* Pu havang gils in ll. 5-6, *ḍang* Puhava(ng) glis in l. 11 and *ḍang* Pu vang glis in l. 17. Now in Old-Javanese, *puhavang* indeed denotes a sea-captain, but in the present instance, we may as well take it as the name of a person called *Pu* Havang (of ?) glis. *Pu* in Old-Javanese corresponds to Eng. Mr., Germ. Herr, etc., and the following words may, therefore, stand as the name of a person. The use of *ḍang* (11. 11, 17) which is usually used before the names of spiritual personages (Kern, *VG*, VIII, p. 164) makes it clearer.

   Our suspicion becomes strengthened by the elision of *ha* from the middle of the name in l. 17. Though this is not an unusual phenomenon in Old-Javanese, the inscriptions present but a few cases to the point, the usual elision being from the beginning of a word. Moreover, the name *Pu* Havang is sometimes met with in inscriptions, e.g. in *OJO* XXIII : 1; KO 1 : 1, 7, etc.

   In Balinese tradition looms large the figure of a Dapu Havang (Cense, *Kroniek Bandjarmasin*, p. 124; Hidding, *Nji Po-hatji Sanghjang Sri*, pp. 34, 61 f.n. 1; *TBG*, 70, p. 160), but he may have nothing to do with our inscription.
7. Brandes puts the query, "vṛhaspati ?"
8. Prabha [K]

XII

COPPER-PLATES OF KUṬI (JAHA), 762 ŚAKA.

•

These copper-plates were found by a Javan while he was engaged in digging a well in his courtyard, in *desa* Jaha, district Jĕnggala II.[1] Plate nos. 1-6 and 8-11 were first found and were purchased for the Batavia Society in 1866 for f. 25. On enquiry of Dr. Cohen Stuart, the missing plate no. 7 was discovered by the same person from the selfsame place and was purchased for the society for a further sum of f.5. The complete inscription is incised on these eleven plates, whereof only no. 1 is engraved on one side—all others are incised on both the faces. They measure 33 x 10 c.m.

The discovery of this inscription was hailed with delight by some scholars, as it was then considered to be the oldest inscription of Java whose date was known with certainty. This expectation has not, however, been fulfiled. The destructive criticisms of Dr. Brandes[2] and later research have jointly contributed to undermine the authenticity of this record. Brandes[3] points out that the inscription bristles with grammatical and other errors,[4] which indicate that the record was incised during the declining days of Majapahit when Old-Javanese was already making room for Middle. Moreover, it has been found that the date furnished by this inscription is astronomically improbable. Similarly, when the historical data of this inscription are controlled by other authentic records, the present charter is found to be extremely unsatisfactory. The reference to Majapahit in an inscription several centuries before the foundation of the place is also highly ridiculous. So also the division of the name of Dakṣottamabāhubajrapratipakṣakṣaya into three names, as if they stand for three separate persons. As a matter of fact, this great king of Matarām flourished about 70 years after the date of the present inscription. Many are, therefore, inclined to conclude like Brandes that it is a spurious document and has to be referred to the 14th Śaka century.

The inscription records that Mahārāja Śrī Lokapāla, with the consecration-name of Harivaṃśo(t)tuṅgadeva, issued orders regarding the marking out of a free-hold known as Kuṭi in the lands of Vaharu for his two sons named Cañcu makuṭa and Cañcu Maṅgala. Reference is also made to the free-hold of Campaga which lay near Vaharu. Interesting is the mention of a panel of servants from Cĕmpa, Kling, Haryya, Singhā, Gola, Cvalikā, Malyalā, Karṇnake, Rĕman and Kmir. According to Cohen Stuart[5] and Damais,[6] the Śaka year of the inscription corresponds to 18th of July, 840 A.D.

The transcription of this record has been published by Dr. Cohen Stuart in *KO* II. On the occasion of discussing some curse-formulae current in Bali, Prof. Kern[7] took the parallel portions of this record under his review, and offered a translation of the same. The scathing criticism of this document came, however, from the pen of Dr. Brandes[8] in 1896, and since that time, the spurious character of the charter is not generally questioned, but it is still believed by some scholars, including myself, that the copy reverts to a genuine original.[9]

TEXT.

1a. *Unwritten.*

b. 1. ॥O॥ svasti śakavarṣātīta, 762, śravaṇamāsa, tithi pañcadaśī[10] śuklapakṣa, ma, po,

2. ra, vāra manahil; grahacāra, neritistha, danişṭa nakṣatra, pivāśyā devatā, mahe

3. ndra maṇḍala, śobhāgaṇa yoga, balava karāṇa, śaśi[11] parvvoṣa, bago mūhūrttā, kumbha rā

4. śī,[12] irikā divaśanyājñā śrī mahārāja śrī lokapāla, harivangśotunggadeva nāma rājā

2*a*, 1. bhiṣeka, yan panuksuk. dharmmasīma, lmaḥ vaharu kuṭi ngaranya, kunĕng hinganing lmaḥ vetan; māsi

2. ḍaktan. lāvan. vaharu, manikulalāvā, masiḍaktan. lāvan. kbonagĕng, mangidulkidul; masi

3. ḍaktan. lāvan kabuvunan; manikulalāvā, mangulvan; masiḍaktan. lāvan ganting, mangalor.

4. masiḍaktan. lāvan ganting, matmu lāvan vahāru, nimitanyan. sinuksuk. dharmmasīma svatantra ikang guṭi.

b. 1. hanata bule nira śri lokapala, mangaran. si kale, ika saddhāna ning sinuk. dharmmasīma

2. ikang kuṭi, hanatha wka nira pāduka śrī mahāraja, mangaran. sira cañcumakuṭa, sira cañcumangga

3. la, sira cañcumakuṭa, angher ing kuṭi kulvan; sira cañcumanggala, angher ing kuṭi vetan; mangka

4. na divaśa nira śrī lokapala harivangśotunggadeva, dinulur de rakryan. mahāmantri katriṇi rakryan.

3*a*. 1. mantri hiṇo, dakṣotama, rakryan. mantri halu. pratipakṣasangśāya, rakryan. mantri siri

2. kan, mahāmantrhino, ikang ulih ira nuk. dharmmasima ring kuṭi, katĕmva ring dlaha ning dlāha, mvang tan ka

3. lapa dening vinava, sang manakatriṇi, tan kaknan. pintan. palākvan; turun. sakupang satak; bvat

4. hajyanadoh aparĕk; tan kalapa dening vinava, sang manakatriṇi, pangkūr; tlrip. miśra, para

b. 1. miśra, pangurang kring, tapahaji, heraji, paḍĕm ; manimpiki, paranakan; limus; galuḥ, manghu

2. ri, mangriñci, parang, sungśang, ḍara, pangaruhan ; hataji, halu varak; katangaran; viningle,

3. tapahaji, airhaji, malandang, lĕca, lĕbĕlĕb ; kukap ; pakalangkang, pakalingking, juru gosali, juru

4. ñjĕman ; pabĕbĕkĕl ; pararajĕg ; pakikis ; palavang, pahavuhavu; juru juḍi, juru jalir; ju

4*a*. 1. ru langling, pabisar; pabisir; panggulung, pamrangkanang, pavungkunung, pulung paḍi, pavidu, tangkil; vatu

2. valang, pamaṇikan ; paniga, sikĕpan ; rumban ; vilang thānī, viji kavaḥ, havur; hanāmbangi ta

3. nghiran; tuha dagang, tirvan; juru bañol; tumulus; miśra hino, miśra hanginangin; vli

4. harĕng, vli hapu, vli pañjut; vli vādung, palāma, palimbak. pāras; ḍampulan; hurutan; kĕpung

b. 1. kavung, sungsung pangurang, pañjing ālas; sipat. valut; palulumuḥ, pabubuḥ, tuṇḍān; pata

2. tar; pakḍi, pavalyan; sambal; sumbul; ityevamadinya, tan tama sima nira cañcumakuṭa, vka sang hyang

3. dharmmā pramaṇa irika, kadyanggā ning mayang tan. pavvaḥ, valuḥ, rūmambat ing natar; vapā, vangke kabunan;

4. raḥ kasamburat ing natar ; vakcapāla, hasthācapala, duhilatĕn ; mamijilakĕn. vūryya ning kikir ;

5*a*. 1. tan. pārabyapara sang makilalā ; vka sang hyang dharmmā pramaṇa irikā, kadyanggā ning macangvring, malaka,

2. mamahang, mañĕmbul ; mangubhar ; mamutĕr ; mamubut ; tanpārabyapara sang makilalā, kadya

3. nggā ning matyangipi, mati kalĕbu, mati tibā, mati sininghat i sapi, mati dinmak ing macan; mati sina

4. hut ing ulā, mati sinambĕr ing glap; tanpārabyapara sang makilalā, kadyanggā ning adyun; mangapus;

b. 1. manggula, matarub; manula vungkuḍu, malurung, madamĕl, kisi, madamĕl. payung vlū, madamĕl.

2. payung upiḥ, manganamanam ; mamĕlut ; manavang, manangkĕb; mamisaṇḍung manuk ; makalakalā, tanpā

3. rabyaḥ$_{\text{bara}}$ sang makilalā, kadyanggā ning carik. **malang,** mangkāna ikang **vargge dalĕm;** lvirnya, **cĕmpa, kling,**
4. haryya, singhā, gola, cvalikā, **malyalā, karṇnake, rĕman ;** kmir; avang, mambang, huñjĕman;

6*a*, 1. hanapuka, varahan; kecaka, tarimba, hatapukan; **haringgit ;** abañol, śalahan,
2. tanpārabyapara samangilalā dṛbya **haji, savakanya manganti i sang hyang** dharmmā sima nira cañcu
3. makuṭa, sira cañcumanggala ring kuṭi, mangkana **yan pamujā,** mangungkunga curing, h$_{\text{amaguta}}$ payung, **ma**
4. ngkana ta yan pabañubañu, m$_{\text{a}}$guta **payung,** macuringa, saṇḍung ḍuri, muvah anata sima ning hulu

b. 1. n. **ri** campaga ngaranya **vetan** ing vaharu, inganya **vetan.** masiḍ$_{\text{aktan.}}$ lāvan. dharmmā rĕṣi, **i**
2. nganya kidul. masiḍaktan. lāvan. soba, inganya **kulvan.** masiḍaktan. lāvan kakalanga
3. n, inganya lvar masiḍaktan, lāvan. vah$^{\text{aru,}}$ samangkana ingan ing lĕmaḥ sima sang hyang dh$^{\text{ārmm}}$$_{\text{ā}}$ **ring campa**
4. ga lāvan. ring kuṭi, mangk$^{\text{ana}}$ ajñā nira **pāduka śrī mahā-**rajā' vinaca denira samgĕtirvān; pinarĕ

7*a*. 1. ngĕkĕn. dening pinggir siring, lvirnya ganting, **mangaran.** buyut. kuea kalvang, vin$^{\text{ehan}}$ vḍihan. savi
2. ji, pirck; mā 2, ku 2, sumaṇḍin$_{\text{g}}$ mangāran. quyut ṣakaĭĕp; vinehan. vḍihan. saviji, pira
3. k; mā 2, ku 2, gayam. tebel; mangaran. buyut. kbo **saṇ-**ḍungan; vinehan. saviji, pi
4. rak. mā 2, ku 2, kase mangaran. b$_{\text{uyut.}}$ macāntanaris, vinehan. vḍihan. saviji, pira

b. 1. k. mā 2, ku 2, vaharu mangaran. buyut. kbo suṇḍeyan; vinehan. vḍihan. saviji, pi

2. rak. mā 2, ku 2, samangkāna pārasamya hinanakĕn ira denira cañcumakuṭa, lāwan cañcu
3. manggala, banata deśa mangaran. ikang hnĭ, mangiseni saji, grih kapiting, pirak; mā 2, ka 2,
4. mijil, kala pūrṇnama ning kapat ; ika ta pinarungvakĕn. ring pinggir siring, mvang thani kaniṣṭha, maddhyamo

8*a*. 1. ttama, inājñān tekā samgĕt. makudur ; mvang samgĕt. vadihati, manibākna śapatha mangmang irikang vva
2. ng asing maharĕp. manglĕburānugraha śrĭ mahārāja irikang kuṭi, tadanantara mangḍiri taya mangḍik. ma
3. ngṭahāsa, tlas. sangkĕp. ring vidhividhana, makalambi vla-ngvlang sangke harĕp ; ndā nihan ika lingnya ‖ ong mi
4. ndaḥ ta kita kamung hyang haricandanāgastimahārṣi, pūrvva dakṣiṇa paścimottarāgneya nairiti bā

b. 1. yābyaiśānya maddhyorddhamadhaḥ, ravi śaśi[12] pre'thivyāpas tejo bāyvākāśa, dharmmāhoratra,
2. kuśikā,[13] gargga, metri, kuruṣya, pātañjala, sakvaiḥ ta bhaṭāra haprakeśvara, kamung hyang i ḍihyang,
3. ring satasṛngga, kamung hyang i vatu lampyar; kamung hyangmarapvi, umalung karuṇḍungan; vukir sumbi, sang
4. hyang susuṇḍara, kujatan. valambangan; i gulasing, i langunu, patunggvan; sang hyang i mḍang, sang hyang

9*a*. 1. pāmungvan; sang hyang kidukidul; kamung hyang tuvuhaḍa, hyang tavihang, hyang kuravingan; hyang panga
2. van; sang rumakṣa ring pṛthivimaṇḍala, sahananta aṣṭalokapala, kita nandīśvara, mahākala,

3. kita napāti, kita raditya, kita soma, anggara, buddha, vṛhaspati, śūkra, śaneścara, rahu
4. ketu, kita aditya, kita candra, kita nakṣatra, kita sambatsara, kita kala, kita mṛtyu, kita

b. 1. tvak. śrota, cakṣuḥ, jihvā, ghraṇa, pāda payu, upāsthā, kita vak. bhaṭṛāa, kita vak. pā
2. da, kita tanmatra, kita pavak. sakala pratyakṣabhaṭāra, kita sakṣibhūta, sahananta deva sū
3. kṣmā kabaiḥ, rĕngö ta mangmang ning hulun ; tumon angadoh aparĕ, rahina vngi, kita pinakā hurip ning sa
4. rvvamanuṣa, tka ring sarvvasatva, tṛṇa, lata gulma, tka ring tiryyak ; pāśu, pipilikā, rĕngö ta mangmang ni

10 *a.* 1. ng hulun ; yan. hana vvang lumangghāṇani ajñā nira pāduka śri mahārāja, dharmmodaya, mahāsa
2. mbhū, mvang mahāmantri dakṣotama, bahubajra, pratipakṣasangśaya, yan. hana lumangghaṇa sanugra
3. ha nira pāduka śrī māhārāja, yan. prabhu, yan. mantri, yan. kṣatriya, yan. grama, yan. sa
4. manya, ityevāmadinya, yan. rumuddharuddha raṣa ni ajñā nira pāduka śrī mahārajā, jvah tasmat.

b. 1. karĕmaknanya, lĕbokna ri sang hyang delĕm er ; sanghapĕn dening vuhaya, yan. mara ring tgal. sambĕrrĕn.
2. ring glap ; bvangakna dening alivāvar ; utalakna dening alisyus ; pulirakna dening devatā,
3. sakitana dening pisaca, banaspati ḍĕngĕn. sanak ; pulirakna dening deva rakṣasa, dmakĕn ing macan ;
4. yan. para ring tgal. manĕmvakna sungga vlah, yan. maparaparan. mapagakna muk ; manaṇḍungakna ruyung avuk ;

11*a.* 1. sĕmpal. sĕmpale˜n ; pangalorakna pangidulakna dening deva rakṣasa, vvil. detya dānawa, samangkā
2. na sapāthanī sang makalambi haji, yavat. cāndraśca śuryyaśca, ri śakalalodipitaḥ, tavat. sangśāra
3. gamacat ; aveci narakang brajet, kadi lava(s) sang hyang candrāditya sumuluh ing sakala lokamaṇḍala, ma
4. ngkana lavasnyāmukti sangśāra, mangkāna ling ning sapata sang makalambi haji, pinarĕngökĕn ri pārasamya, ring kaniṣṭha

b. 1. maddhyamottama, ri tlasnyan. mangkāna, mangsĕ ta sira cañcumakuṭa, lāvan. sira cañcumanggala, i pārasa
2. mya, vineḥ ta pārasamya manaḍaha, tka sang makudur ; vadibati, muāng pati, vahuta, tĕhĕr āmobhayākĕn. lmaḥ
3. sima hnī, kalap. denira cañcumakuṭa, mangkāna ikang hnī, i sampun. nyan. mangkāna, mantuk ta sang pārasamya mare gŕha
4. nya sovang sovang, iti prasasti ring kuṭi, parisamapta tla(s) sinurat. ring majhapahit.

TRANSLATION

1. *a. undescribed*

b. 1. ‖O‖ Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 762, the month of Śrāvaṇa, fifteenth day[14] of the bright half of the month, *mavulu*[15] *pon*[16],

2. Sunday, *manahil*[17], (while) the planet was in the south-
west (and) the lunar mansion Dhaniṣṭhā (stood under)
the deity Pivāśyā[18]
3. in the zone (*maṇḍala*) of Mahendra ; during the con-
junction (*yoga*) of Saubhāgya ; in Bālava *Karaṇa* ; while
the Moon was the lord of the orb ; in the moment
(*mūhūrtta*) of Bago ; (while the Sun stood on) the
zodiacal sign of the pitcher.
4. On this day (were promulgated) the orders of H.M. the
great king, the illustrious ruler of the world[19], with
the consecration-name of Harivangśo(t)tunggadeva,

2a. 1. about marking out a free-hold[20] that was named Kuṭi,
in the ground of Vaharu[21]. Regarding the boundary of
the ground : (in) the east, it
2. borders with Vaharu, makes a bend (?)[22] and borders
with the Great garden (*Kbon-age'ng*) ; going along the
southern side, it borders
3. with Kabuvunan (and) makes a bend (?) ; going by the
direction of the west, it borders with Ganting ;
north-wards it
4. borders with Ganting (and) meets (again) with Vaharu.
The occasion thereof[23] is that (this) free-hold has been
marked out (and) this Kuṭi (would be) free from all
exotic control.

b. 1. (Moreover) there was a *bule*[24] of the illustrious ruler
of the world, named *Si* Kale. He was instrumental in
marking out the free-hold
2. (for) this Kuṭi. There were also the sons of H.M. the
illustrious great king, named Cañcu makuṭa[25] (and) Cañcu
manggala.
3. Cañcu makuṭa dwelt in the west of Kuṭi, (while) Cañcu
manggala dwelt in the east of Kuṭi. On such
4. day[26], the illustrious ruler of the world, Harivangśo-
(t)tunggadeva was accompanied by the three *rakryan*
mahāmantri-s[23] (viz.) the *rakryan*

3a. 1. *mantri hino* (who is) Dakṣo(t)tama, the *rakryan mantri*
halu (who is) Pratipakṣasangśāya (and) the *rakryan*
mantri siri-

2. *kan*[28] (who is) Mahāmāhino[29]. The aim of them was
to mark out the free-hold of Kuṭi which may be seen
(to exist) up to the remotest future (i. e., for ages).
Moreover (it) may not
3. be occupied by being brought under the Hon. three
(ministers) ; (it) may not be visited by *Pintan Palakvan*[30]
(for) the collection (of) one *kupang* and one *atak*[31],
4. (while gathering) feudal dues (from) far and near[32]
(it) may not be occupied by being brought under Hon.;
three (viz.) *pangkur*, (*tavan* and) *tirip*[33] (as well as)
miśra[34], *para-*

b. 1. *miśra*, *pangurang*[35], *kring*[36], *tapahaji*[37], *er haji*[38] *paḍem*[39]
manimpiki[40], *paranakan*[41], *limus galuh*[42], *manghuri*,
2. *mangriñci*[43], *parang*, *sungka*, *d(h)ura*[44], *pangaruhan*[45],
taji[46], *halu varak*[47], *katanggaran*[48], *viningle*[49],
3. *tapa he'ji*, *air haji*[50], *malandang*[51], *le'ca*[52], *le'be'le'b*[53], *kukap*[54]
paklangkang[55], *pakalingking*[56], *juru gosali*[57], *juru*
4. *huñjeman*, *pabe'be'ke'l*[58], *pararaje'g*[59], *pakikis*[60], *palavang*[61]
pahavuhavu[62], *juru juḍi*[63], *juru jali*[64],

4a. 1 *juru langling*[65], *pabisar*, *pabisir*[66], *panggulung*[67], *pamrang-*
kanang[68], *pavungkunung*[69], *pulung paḍi*[70], *pavidu*[71],
tangkil[72], *vatu valang*[73],
2. *pamaṇikan*[74], *paniga*[75], *sike'pan*[76], *rumban*, *vilang thāni*[77]
viji kavah[78], *avur*[79], *anāmbangi*[80], *tanghiran*[81], *tuha*
3. *dagang*, *tirvan*[82], *juru bañol*[83], *tumulus*[84], *miśra hino*,
miśra anginangin[85], *vli*
4. *hare'ng*[86], *vli hapu*[87], *vli pañjut*[88], *vli vadung*[89], *palāma*[90],
palimbak,[91] *paras*[92], *ḍampulan*[93], *urutan*[94], *te'pung*

b. 1. *kavung*[95], *sungsung pangurang*[96], *pañjing alas*[97], *sipat*
vilut[98], *palulumuh*[99], *pabubuh tuṇḍān*,
2. *patatar*, *pakḍi*,[100] *pavalyan*,[101] *sambal sumbul*[102] and so
forth may not tread upon the free-hold of Cañcu makuṭa.
In short, the sacred
3. foundation is the (sole) authority over these (things happening
in the free-hold) such as, the *arĕca*-blossom that bears
no fruit, the pumpkin that creeps along the ground,
death, corpse bedewed,

4. blood spilt on the ground,[103] rashness in speech rashness with hands,[104] swallowing one's spittle (and the) uncovering of (maically forged) weapons from behind. (The free-hold)

5*a*. 1. may not be interfered with by the Hon. collectors (of taxes).[105] In short,[106] (this) sacred foundation is the (sole) authority over these, as, the making of purple-red paints, lac,

2. lights, black paints, red paints (?), ropes (?), bed-covers and pillows. (The free-hold) may not be interfered with by the Hon. collectors (of taxes)

3. (in) such things as : death while dreaming, death by drowning, death by falling, death by being charged with a cow, death by being attacked with a tiger, death by being bitten

4. with a snake, death by being struck with lightning. (The free-hold) may not be interfered with by the Hon. collectors (of taxes) (in) such things as the making of pots, spinning (?)

b. 1. making sugar, roofs, spearing (with ?) *vungkuḍu*,[107] repairing roads, the making of shuttles (?) for the spinning wheel, the making of linen umbrella of different colours, the making of

2. umbrellas of leaf-sheath, all sorts of wicker-works, the catching of eel-fish, fishing with a *tavang*-net (?), fishing with a *tangkep*-net, the ensnaring of birds (and) the trapping of beasts. (The free-hold)

3. may not be interfered with by the Hon. collectors (of taxes in) such things as wounding porters (?) and all sorts of servants of the inner apartments (hailing from) Cĕmpa,[108] Kling,[109]

4. (H)aryya,[110] Singhā,[111] Gola,[112] Cvalikā,[113] Malyalā[114] Karṇṇake,[115] Rĕman[116] (and) Kmir,[117] (as also) the *avang*[118] *mambang*,[118] *huñjeman*.

6*a*. 1. *anapuka*,[118] *varahan*,[119] *kecaka*,[118] *tarimba*,[118] *atapukan*,[120] *aringgit*,[121] *abañol*,[122] *ṣalahan*.[123]

2. All the 'collectors of royal dues' and their representatives

may not interfere with the staying (of the princes) at the sacred foundation, which is (really) the free-hold of Cañcu

3. makuṭa (and) Cañcu manggala of Kuṭi. So also (they may not interfere) with (their) worship, the wearing of ring (and) bell, the opening of umbrella ;

4. so also with the spilling of water, the opening of umbrella,[124] the wearing of footbells (and the setting up of) the fences of thorny bomboos. Moreover, there is also the freehold of a servant[125]

b. 1. at Campaga (which is) known to be in the east of Vaharu. In the east, it borders with Dharmma-rĕṣi ; in

2. the South, it borders with Soba ; in the west, it borders with Kakalangan ;

3. in the north, it borders with Vaharu. Such are the boundaries of the lands of the free-hold of the sacred foundation at Campaga

4. and at Kuṭi. Such orders of H. M. the illustrious grea t king were read by the *samget tirvan* and heard

7*a*. 1. by all the neighbours. (Therefter, the person from) Ganting named *buyut*[126] Kuda Kalvang received one piece of cloth (and)

2. silver 2 *māṣa*, 2 *kupang*. (The person from) Sumaṇḍi ng named *buyut* Ṣakarĕp received one piece of cloth (and) silver

3. 2 *māṣa*, 2 *kupang*. (The person from) Gayam tĕbĕl, named *buyut* Kbo Saṇḍungan received one piece of cloth and

4. silver 2 *māṣa*, 2 *kupang*. (The person from) Kase named *buyut* Macāntanaris received one piece of cloth (and) silver

7*b*. 1. 2 *māṣa*, 2 *kupang*. (The person from) Vaharu named *buyut* Kbo Suṇḍeyan received one piece of cloth (and) silver

2. 2 *māṣa* 2 *kupang*. Even so, the whole public who were permitted by Cañcu mukuṭa and Cañcu manggala to be present.

3. There is also the *desa* named Hnĭ which will present for *saji*-offerings seven bundles (?)[127] of salt, silver 2 *māṣa*, 2 *kupang*,
4. With the appearance of Full Moon in each fourth month. These (words) were also heard by persons of neighbouring places along with villagers of lowest, mediocre and

8*a*. 1. highest position. They were (now asked by the *samgĕt makudur* (and) the *samget vādihati*[128] to come near (to hear the) oaths and curses (to be uttered) before the people
2. who did not wish to spoil the favour of the illustrious great king in respect of this Kuṭi. Thereupon they (i.e., *makudur-vadihati*) stood up to cry fie[129] (and)
3. deride loudly[130] after completing customary duties (and) by putting on a stained jacket in the front part. And now the words of them were : Om !
4. Be gracious, you all gods, Haricandana[131] (and) Agastya, the great seer(s), East, South, West, North, South-east,

b. 1 South-west, North-east, Centre, Zenith, Nether, Sun, Moon, earth, water, light, wind, ether, laws, day (and) night,
2. Kuśika, Garga, Maitrĭ, Kuruṣya,[132] Patañjala, all deities (of) *baprakeśvara(s)*,[133] you spirits[134] of Ḍihyang,
3. of Śataśṛngga,[135] you spirits of Vatu lampyar, you spirits (of) Marapvi, (H)umalung, Karuṇḍungan, the Mount Sumbi,
4. the sacred (spirits of) Susuṇḍara, Kujatan, Valambangan, of Gulasing, of Langunu, Patunggvan, the spirits of Mĕḍang, the sacred (spirits of)

9*a*. 1. Pāmungvan, the sacred (spirits of) the Southern region, you spirits (of) Tuvuhaḍa, Tavihang, Kuravingan, Pangavan,
2. the protectors of the circle of the earth, all the eight protectors of regions, you Nandĭśvara, Mahākāla,
3. you Napāti,[136] you Sun,[137] you Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rāhu,

4. Ketu, you Sun, you Moon,[137] you Stars, you Year, you Time, you Death, you

b. 1. skin, ears, eyes, tongue, smell, feet, the organs of discharging (and) procreation, you forms of Bhaṭāra (i. e., Śiva), you
2. forms of space,[138] you *tanmātra*-s,[139] you fire, materials, visible deities, you who have been
3. witnesses, together with all invisible gods ! Hear my curse ! You who see far and near, by day and by night, you who are the lives of
4. all men, yea, of all creatures, grass, creepers, bushes, up to quadrupeds, beasts, ants ! Hear my curse ;

10*a*. 1. " If there is any one who violates the orders of H. M. the illustrious great king, Dharmmodaya
2. mahāśambhu and (of) the great ministers (viz.) Dakṣot(t)-ama, Bāhubajra,[140] Pratipakṣasangśaya (!) ; if there is any one who violates the favour
3. of H. M. the illustrious great king, be he a prince, be he a minister, be he a kṣatriya, be he a villager (Vaiśya), be he a common folk (Śūdra) [141]
4. and so forth; when he violates the substance of the orders of H.M. the illustrious great king, as

b. 1. the result of his deeds, he may be drowned into the depth of the ocean to be caught by the crocodiles; when he goes to the fields, he may be struck
2. by lightning, thrown away by the squall, led astray by the whirlwind, whirled round and round by gods,
3. troubled by *piśāca*-s, *banaspati*-s, *ḍe"nge'n*-s,[142] with their children, whirled round and round by the *devarākṣasa*-s,[143] (and) sprung upon by the tiger;
4. when he goes to the field, he may find mantraps of bamboos ; when he undertakes a journey, he may come across *amok*-making; he may be pressed against disastrous mantraps

11*a*. 1. (so that) a part (of his body) may be smashed to pieces; he may (once) be made to go northwards (and then again) southwards by the *devarākṣasa*-s, devils, *daitya*-s (and) *dānava*-s.
2. Such is the oath of the honourable personages dressed in

jackets : "As long as the Moon and the Sun shall diffuse light on the whole world, so long shall (that man) come to worldly sorrows (and)

3. fall into the hell of Aveci".[144] "As long as the Moon and the Sun shall diffuse light in the circle of the whole world,

4. so long shall he experience worldly sorrows." [145] Such were the oath-formulae of the honourable persons dressed in jackets (and these) were heard by the whole public, including men of lowest,

b. 1. mediocre and highest position. After the completion of such (oaths), Cañcu makuṭa and Cañcu manggala stepped before the whole public [146]

2. and the whole public, including the *sang makudur*, the *vadihati*, also the *patih*-s (and) the *vahuta*-s obtained food-stuffs (lit. received feeding). Thereupon a written report was allowed to be drawn up (about) the grounds

3. of the free-hold of Hnĭ which were taken by Cañcumakuṭa Such is this Hnĭ. After the completion of such (arrangements) returned also the whole public to their respective houses.

4. (Thus) ends the edict (praśasti) of Kuṭi, perfectly completed (and) written in Maj(h)apahit.[147]

FOOTNOTES

1. For details, see Cohen Stuart, *KO*. P. *VII*.

2. *Paraton*. 2nd ed., pp 112 ff. ; *TBG*, XXXII, p. 111 f.n. 1.

3. *Pararaton*, 2nd ed., pp 112 ff.

4. The language is so corrupt that a thorough revision would necessitate the rewriting of the whole document. For some corrections in the language, one is referred to *Pararaton, op. cit.*

5. *Not. Bat. Gen* : 4 (1867) p. 143.

6. *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 29.

7. *BKI*, 3 : VIII-IX (1873- 74), reprinted in *VG* VI, pp. 291-307.

8. *Pararaton* (*VBG*, 49, pp. 94-98) ; revised edition (*VBG*, 62, pp. 112-116), Cf also *Notulen*, XXIV, p. 45 ; *Catalogus Groeneveldt*, pp. 358, 359.

9. For instance in the article of Damais in *TBG* 83 (1944), *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 11.

10. Cohen Stuart's reading of °daci appears to be due to a printing mistake.

11. Similar is the mistake of °ci for °śi.

12. Cohen Stuart's reading of Śaci appears to be due to a printing mistake.

13. Similar is the mis-print of Kuci° for kuśi° in Cohen Stuart's edition of this inscription.

14. Brandes says (*Pararaton*. 2nd, ed., p. 114) that this *tithi* does not tally with the Bālava-*Karaṇa*. Similarly the *Vuku* on that date was *Prangbakat* and not *manahil*.

15. A Mal-Polynesian day of the six-day week.

16. A Mal-Polynesian day of the six-day week.

17. The name of the twenty-third *Vuku*.

18. Dhaniṣṭhā stands under the deity Vasu and not Pivāśyā.

19. Though a king Lokapāla is known from several inscriptions (See, *VG*. VII, pp. 32, 97 ; *OV*. 1925, pp. 171-173 ; *OV* 1928, p. 60 ; *TBG*, 75, pp. 437-443 *TBG*, 56, pp. 477-484), we have probably to do here with an epithet because it appears from pl 10. *a* that the intended king is no other than Dharmmodaya mahāśambhu who flourished between 898-910 A.D.

20. Over *dharmmasima svatantra*, see Kern, *VG* VII. p.20.

21. A place of this name is met with in a number of inscriptions. Over the topographical particulars of different Vabaru- inscriptions, see Van Stein Callenfels in *Feestb. Bat. Gen* II (1929) pp. 382-389.

22. This word (*manikulalāvā*) occurs in several inscriptions. See Kern, *VG*. VII, p. 35; *OJO*, LXXXIII, 5a.

For interpretations suggested, see Kern, *VG*, VII, p. 23; Pararaton, p. 115 f.n. 1.

23. The *nimi(t)ta* (elsewhere *sambandha*) has been wrongly used in a wrong place. It should have been stated after the names of the donor and the donated things. *cf. OJO XIX* (813 śaka), XXVI (829 śaka) ; the Ke'du inscription of 829 śaka (*TBG*, 67, pp. 205- 6) . For a good example from the 14th century A. D. , see *OJO* LXXXIII.

24. A religious functionary of the lower category ? In the stone of Be rahol, 783 Saka (*Notulen*, 1889, p. 16) , we find a *vule* of Dihyang. Dr. Juynboll has translated the term by 'Albino' in *Lijst* , p. 409.

25. This name reminds us of Mukuṭavangśavarddhana, the son of king Lokapāla, who is referred to in the so-called Calcutta stone- inscription of Airlangga (see Kern, *VG*, VII, p. 99).

26. This should have been stated before the description of the boundaries of Kuṭi.

27. Three Hon. Principal ministers. In Old-Jav. Inscriptions, the title *rakryan* is used with further appellations, such as here, and before the names of high dignitaries of the state

28. Over *Hino*, *Halu*, and *Sirikan*, see *KBWdb.* I (1897) p. 22*b*. 259 *a*. and III (1901) p. 68 *b*. How a king comes to hold one or the other of such titles is indicated by an analogy from 1019 A. D. Thus we read in ll. 14-15 of the so-called Calcutta stone-inscription of Airlangga' *ikanang halu pinaka kapratisthān śrī mahārāja, matang yan rake halu śrī lokeśvara dharmmavangśa airlanggānantavikramottunggadevasangjña kāstvan Śri mahārāja, de mpungku.....* ..This serves to show that the place Halu was consecrated for the king, and he was thereupon confirmed as king by spiritual personages with that *epitheton ornans*, viz. , *rake halu*, etc. For the interpretations of this passage, see Kern. *VG*, VII, p. 108 ; Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p. 179. For Krom's remarks on the title of *Hino* in respect of the reigning king and his successor, see *op. cit.*, p. 186.

29. Thus we find that the name of Dakṣottamabāhubajrapratipakṣakṣaya (*cf. OJO* XXVI, XXX : *KO*XVII) has been split up into three parts to make up the name of three *rakryan mahāmantrī*-s !

30. That they are a class of officers appears from *OJO* CXV : 2 *b*. The *pinta palaku* of that place has obviously been intended in our inscription.

31. *Kupang* and *Atak* are coins. In some inscriptions, *turunturun*-s appear as a class of people or officers. *cf. OJO*, XXXVIII : r°. 21 ; XLIII : r.° 11.

32. Similar phrases or statements occur in *OJO* LXXIX : 3 *a* and 4 *b* (1191 śaka) ; LXXXIII, pls. 5 *b*-6*a* (1245 śaka) ; *OV*, 1922, Bijl, B (inscription of Sēṇḍang Sēdati 1385 śaka, pls. 4*a*-4*b*).

33 *Tavan* has been left out by the copyist. In the 8th century they had some spiritual influence and have been distinguished from the *mangilala drabya haji* and generally rank higer than those sets of people. For a more elaborate dicussion, see Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth century, Vol. IV*, (1962) pp. 404-6.

34. Kern (*VG*, VII, p. 24) translates the term *miśra paramiśra* by 'great and petty usurers.' Stutterheim more plausibly suggests (*TBG*, 65, pp. 246-247) that this term was perhaps originally Indonesian and was sanskritised later on. He says that it may signify 'chief' and this interpretation remarkably agrees with the gloss on *miśra hino* and *miśra anginangin*. Whatever that may be, it is possible that *miśra paramiśra*, etc. has to be explained as 'all sorts of *miśra*-s (such as) *miśra hino, miśraaginangin*,' etc. This perhaps finds an analogy in such terms as as *vuluvulu paravulu*, i. e., 'all sorts of *vulu*-s or *vuluvulu*-s.' It is noteworthy that in many inscriptions after the *vuluvulu* we find *prakāra*, i.e., 'all sorts of.' and this signifies that in some cases at least the force of *para* =all sorts of. The function of these *miśra*-officers is, however, unknown to us. Regarding these people, Pigeaud says (*Java in the Fourteenth century, Vol IV* (1962) p. 406 : *Vuluvulu, para vulu, misra, para misra*, the opening words of the *de rvya haji*-list have been discussed by van Naerssen (*Oudjavaansche Oorkonden in D. D. verz.*, 1941, p. 10 and p. 95). Probably the two expressions orignially were synonymous. Apparently *vulu vulu* and *Vevulu* (also found in the Koravāśrama and other old Javanese texts) refer in genral to men of low standing, differnt from gentlemen, men of religion and even from common free men. Some relation of *vulu vulu* with hulun, an old word for servant, slave, seems

probable. In old Jav. literature, Sanskrit *miśra* (mixed) seems to have been used in the same sense of person of low standing (according to KBWdb). But then *vulu* (hair on the body, French : *poil*) is a common word in Javanese. In the expression *savuluning dval* : the proceeds of the sale, found also in the Ferry Charter, and in the modern Javanese expression *vulu pamentu* : agri$_c$ultural produce, *vulu* seems to mean growth. The qustion whether *vulu vulu* (of low standing) and *vulu* (hair, growth) are of common origin is not discussed here.

35 Kern translated this term by 'mendicant friar' in *VG* VII, p 47. Stutterheim plausibly suggests that the term may denote *tuhān*. See *TBG*, 65. p 243 f. n 68.

36 Kern (*op cit*, pp 24, 47) translates the term by 'decrepit'. According to Stutterheim (*op. cit*, p 246), it may be a title like *juru*, but its significance is not known (*TBG*, 75, p 435).

37. The significance of the term is not clear, though it is most likely that the word *haji* has nothing to do with kings As the term is an exact equivalent of the Skt. *rājarṣi*, can it refer to a class of monks ? Stutterheim (*TBG*, 65, pp. 250–51) thinks, however, that the reference to monks is not very probable here and that it may refer to a *juru* or a similar official title. His objection against monks is not however strong and this will appear from the association of the term with the following word and our notes thereon.

38. A late work like *Nāg* : 75, 2 throws some light on this word. We read there of a *mantrī her haji* who is charged to look after Brāhmaṇical ascetics as a protector of hermits. As *mantri* may be synonymous with *juru* or chief, does not *her haji* imply a class of Brāhmaṇical ascetics ? The association of *her haji* with *tapa haji*, therefore, acquires additional significance. The arrangement of titles in the official list is arbitrary in many cases, still it is noteworthy that these two terms generally go side by side and in *KO* XVIII : 11, they are associated with *malarhyang*, who is undoubtedly connected with religious institutions. For the view of Stutterheim, see *op. cit.*

39. Elsewhere we find *paḍe'm apuy*, which literally means 'the extinguishing (of) fire'. The idea is not, however, suitable here. Apparently the term denotes a class of people or officers. Kern (*op. cit.*, p. 47) thinks, however, that the term may refer to 'houseless persons', but his interpretation has been plausibly criticised by Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

40. Cabinet-makers ? See *KBWdb.*, IV, p 521 ; *TBG* 65, p. 250.

41. According to Kern (*op. cit.*), 'cross-breed persons'. This interpretation does not appear satisfactory to me, as it does not suit the context in *OJO* XXXVI : v° 1. For Stutterheim's notes, see *op. cit.*, pp. 247-248.

42. Kern (*op. cit.*,) translates the term by 'polisher of gems', Stutterheim (*op. cit.*, p. 243) by 'gold-smith', See also *TBG*, 67, pp. 196-197.

43. In my opinion, *mangriñci* may denote a class of record-keepers. The root is *riñci* and, in the *Nāg*, 17 : 9, the term *riniñci* has been used in the sense of noting (places and noteworthy things that came under the observation of the poet who prepared a record thereof) V. d. Tuuk's interpretation of *manghuri* becomes, therefore, interesting, from its association with *mangriñci* and our explanation thereof. Though the unsatisfactory character of our document minimises the importance of this association, some authentic charters, e g , *OJO* LVIII, LXIV, LXIX, LXXXIII, etc., have also retained this association.

44. The text : ... *sang; I e.a.* But the above correction is suggested by a number of inscr... reads *parung*, ... significance of the terms is however, unknown. For remarks of Stutterhe... iptions, ... p. 261.

45. The signifi... ...erm ... quite clear. Sometimes, the person holding this title appears to ... ...cted t... a smith (*cf TBG*, 65, p. 228, f.n. 31). Accordin... ...be ... with ... connected with the following word and accordingly tran... to Stutterhe... ... ...of ... This is by no means certain, as words other than *ta*... ...slated ... *ga-han*.

46. Apparentl... ...some... ...ows. According to Stutterheim (*op. cit.*, pp. 248-49) : her... ...a cl... ...*angal* ... ...ck makers?).

47. The Bal. ...track ... *ruhu* ... *jah* (liable to service). See Stutterheim *op. cit*, p. 249. A... ...ing ... (*KBWdb.* III, p. 715), the term denotes 'persons from the r... ...ing rendering services as director of the orchestra, *vayang* and other er... ...ainments'. See also the note of Kern, *VG.* VII, p. 47.

48. Cooks of ... See Stutterheim, *op. cit.* p. 250 and *TBG*, 75, p. 435.

49. Elsewhere we fin... *piringle*. The Bal. clo... has *iava ge nding* (musician ?). See Stutterheim, *op. cit.*

50 These people (*tajo haji* & *air haji*) have twice been enumerated.

51. Kern says (*op cit.*) that the term may signify a class of assistants. According to V. d. Tuuk (*KBWdh.*, IV, 584): 'someone who institutes a gambling party or cock-fight and wins 10 p. c.' The term may be connected with the following word. See the note of Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

52 Apparentl... ...ple ... with cock-fight. According to Stutterheim, the term may ... a class of ... *malandang*, whereof the primary significance is : to lead, to assist ... ...ong to the ... ...

53. Apparently ... ...s of people. See Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

54. *Kukap* appears in ... ...but its significance is not known.

55. The term may refer ... ...er ... rice-barns. A village Pakalangkyangan appears in no. 86. In ... ...

56. It may ref... ...chie... ...l ... of particular fashion belonging to notable persons. For a note ... ...to ... ...over ... ...here see Stutterheim, *op. cit.*

57. Elsewhere ... *gosali* (*gusali*). ... ...el over smiths.

58. The hawk... ...

59. Its signifi... ...ovisions ar...

60. In Juynbol... ...ance is ... ...n translated by: makers of enclosures.

61. The term ... ...ll's *List*, p. 133, the ... ...gate-charges.

62. The term ... may refer ... officers over ... ...isement-halls.

63. Elsewhe... may refer to officers over ... over gamblers. Stutterheim (*TBG*, 65, p. 258) quotes ... we have, ... *tuhang judi*, ... *Siam*, p. 446 : "Some officers have control over game-houses" from Basta's *Relseni*.

64. The chief ... over ...

65 The signif... ... ... quite clear. *Langling* is the name of a kind of water-plant, but ... ica... ... ...m is not ... Has *juru langlang* been intended here ? If so, the ter... ... the sense ... refer... ... applicable here.

66. The func... may, thus, ... the chief over hawkers. Those of the preceding ... are not known. ... tions of ... ...lass of people as well as ... one

67 The chief over transport-service ? Freight-carriers ?

68 *Vrangka*-makers ?

69. The function of this class of people is not known.

70. In Old Jav. inscriptions, the words before and after *pulung paḍi* are not always the same and hence *pulung paḍi* should be considered to be a self-standing word. According to Kern (*op. cit*, p. 48) the term denotes : binders of *paḍi Pulung* is the basket of the rice-girls. See the note of Stutterheim, *op. cit*, p. 261.

71. The term may refer to persons who represent dramatic plays. It is usually, but not always (*c, OJO* LXVIII), associated with *mangidung*. See the note of Kern, *op. cit* and Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, p. 265, with literature cited thereon. In *TBG*. 67, p. 175, f. n. 7, Stutterheim brings the term in relation to the Celebes *bissu* who sing ballads.

72. The term may refer to a special class of servants under the king. See Kern, *op. cit.* p 47, Stutterheim, *op. cit*, pp 252-53.

73. This may refer to a class of people connected with the erection of sacred stones. See Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-56 and p. 249 (the note on *vatu tāje m*).

74. Jeweller.

75. Elsewhere we find *maniga*. Kern (*op. cit.*) derives the term from *tiga*=Jav. *patri*, and equates it with solderer. Stutterheim (*op. cit.*) disputes this interpretation and says that the term etymologically signifies the joining of three things and may, therefore, refer to objects other than the solderer. That is quite possible, but we fail to accept the suggestion of Dr. Stutterheim that the term *maniga* refers to the following three words. As a matter of fact, the three words after *maniga* are not always the same, and hence the term should be considered to be a self-standing one with a special significance. If there were no grammatical difficulties, I should have translated the term by hawker of precious stones.

76. Quoting V. d. Tuuk, Stutterheim (*op. cit.*) says that *sike'p* is, next to *vuluh*, a word for the hilt of a *pe dang*. Such hilts being frequently furnished with wicker-work, Stutterheim suggests that *maniga sike'pan* may refer to them. In *TBG*, 67, p. 175, f.n. 7, he broaches the question once again and says that the term reminds one of the significance of amulet=*sike p* or *sike pan* (see hereover *BKI*, 3:XI, p. 344 ;. Kern, *op. cit.*)

77. According to Kern (*op. cit.*, p. 48), the term denotes a 'land-teller'. Stutterheim (*op. cit*, p. 257) doubts if the word should be translated so literally and suggests persons connected with 'the division of grounds in communal possession'.

78. According to Kern (*op. cit.*, pp. 47, 48), the term refers to 'pot-washers'. Stutterheim (*op. cit.*, pp. 257-58) suggests : leading persons connected with the bathing of a woman 40 days after her delivery.

79. From *KO* XVII : 3, the term appears to denote a kind of tax. It is possible, therefore, that the word refers here to the collectors of *avur*-taxes.

80. In *OJO* LXXXIII we find *pavuruk* and (*m*)*anambangi*, both of which may mean 'a ferry-man'. As (*m*)*anambangi* may as well signify 'makers of ropes,' probably this meaning has to be accepted for our text. See also the note of Stutterheim (*op. cit*, pp. 256-57) on *tambangan*.

81 Apparently a class of people of unknown functions.

82. Also spelt as *tiruan*. They appear to form a higher class of officers, but their

functions are not known.

83. The chief over clowns.
84. Apparently a class of people of unknown functions.
85. See the previous note on *miśra paramiśra* and *TBG*, 65, pp 246-47.
86. Dealers of charcoal.
87. Dealers of lime.
88. Dealers of lights, luminaries, etc.
89. Dealers of hatchets.
90. In other inscriptions, we find at this place : *Palamak*, i e , dealers of grease (?). This has probably been intended here.
91. Dealers of *limbak ?* The word *limbak* is well-known, but its significance here is not quite clear.
92. Stone. It may also refer to the dealers of juice, if we consider the root to be *ras(a)*, whereof the ending *a* is omitted due to the influence of oral speech.
93. The word denotes a groom, but we have probably to seek here a different interpretation of the term, though we cannot suggest any. See also Stutterheim, *op cit.*, p. 260.
94. The word may mean 'sausage,' but this interpretation does not well suit the context. It many signify 'the dealers of sausage' See also Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, p. 259.
95. Collectors of palm-leaves ? Juynboll (*Lijst*, pp 133, 146) interprets the term by copyists of palm-leaf MSS. See also Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, p 260.
96. *Sungsung* is always followed by *pangūrang*, but the words after *pangurang* are not always the same. Hence *sungsung pangurang* may be considered to be a self-standing word. Stutterheim (*op. cit.*, pp. 260-261) indeed says that the word *pangurang* occurring therein may be connected with the following words, but I consider that to be doubtful for the reasons stated above. The term may refer to the chief of messengers.
97. Sometimes we find here : *pasuk alas*. The terms *pañjing alas* and *pasuk alas* may refer to the surveyors or dwellers of a forest. For the view of Stutterheim, see *op. cit.*
98. Apparently a class of people. For the view of Stutterheim, see *op. cit* , pp. 261-62.
99. The significance of this term as well as that of the succeeding three, is not quite clear.
100. The term may refer to a female *ḍukun*.
101. The term may refer to a male *ḍukun*. See hereover, Kern, *op. cit.*, p. 49 ; Hazeu, *Het Javaansche tooneel*, p. 49 f.n. 3 ; Pigeaud, *Tantu*, p. 285 ; Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-65.
102. The significance of *sambal sumbul* is not quite clear. Kern (*op. cit.*) indeed said that the terms refer to persons who go about with *sambal* and with baskets of rice, but this interpretation has been contested by Stutterheim (*op. cit.*, pp. 265-66) who thinks that *sumbul* may refer to the chief of *kuli-s*. Whatever that may be, Stutterheim (*TBG*, 74, p. 293) takes *sambalsumbul* to be a single word. We find however *sanval* in *OJO* XXIII : 7 and *TBG*, 67, p. 206 and no mention has been made of *sumbul*. It is therefore not impossible that the terms are distinct, though analogous like *kdi Valyan*. At present the question must be kept open.

has been made of *sumbul*. It is therefore not impossible that the terms are distinct, though analogous like *kdi valyan*. At present the question must be kept open.

103. *Vide* Jonker, *Een Oudjavaansch wetboek*, 1885, art. 66 and 67. The 'blood spilt' was gathered by mischievous persons and this formed a kind of poison ; the ground thereunder was regarded as antidote to it. So 'bl° od spilt' was dreaded by the Javanese people. See *Babad Tanah Jawi*, pp 264-266, ed. Meinsma ; *TBG*, 65, p. 271, f n. 74.
104 These refer to the *vākpāruṣya* and *daṇḍapāruṣya* of Skt. jurists. See also Jonker, *op. cit.*, art. 219 and 225 ; Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-73 with literature cited thereon.
105 *Makilalā* of this place is obviously the shortened form of *mangilala dērvya haji*, to which Pigeaud devotes an elaborate discussion in *Java in the fourteenth century IV* (1962) p. 421
106. Since the next word begins with *Sang*, *Vka* seems to have dropped its final *s*. The full word should be : *Vkas*. As it stands, *Vka* means 'son', which sense is not applicable here.
107. In a corresponding place of the Vanagiri inscription (*TBG*, 74, pp. 288, 294 and f. n. 3 on p. 294) we have *mamukat Vungkuḍu*. In the Singasari plate (*TBG*, 65, pp. 236, 276) we have *manulang vungkuḍu*, apparently in the above sense. While Stutterheim considers the phrase to refer to a preparation of *morinda citrifolia* (with the root of which one paints cotton), Van Naerssen (*Aanw. Kol. Inst.*, 1934, p. 141 f. n. 23) thinks his interpretation objectionable. The root of the word may be skt *śūla* i. e. spear. Fishing, with spear is widely prvelent in many parts of S. E. Asia.
108 Campā.
109 Kaliṅga.
110 Āryya is an equivalent of 'Aryan', but we have probably to seek in the present instance a specific signification of the term. Can it be a place-name ? A place Ariake is indeed mentioned in the *Periplus* (ed. Schoff. pp 174-75), but scholars have expressed doubt about the correct form of the word (*cf.* Schoff, *op, cit.*, p. 174 ; Indraji & Bühler in *IA*, 7, p. 259). Again, in the list of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (Kern, *VG* I, p. 235), the place Āryaka has been mentioned between Cerya and Siṅhala. The place may be located about the region of Gujerat or its neighbourhood. It may also be noted in this connexion that the Rājputs of Western India are called Āriyā (in a derogatory sense) in Southern India (*cf.* Geiger in *JGIS*, II, p. 93) and these people might have been intended in our inscription. Coedeès (Les etats etc p. 247) seems to take them to be non-Dravidian Hindus).
111. Ceylon.
112. Gauḍa (Bengal).
113. (Someone hailing from) the Cola-country.
114. Malyalā appears to refer to Malay ālam, Malabar.
115. Karṇāṭaka.

116. Pegu(an-s). See hereover, Blagden in *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 495-96 and Krom *in Ibid.*, p. 1069. See also Kern, *VG* VII, p. 31, f.n. 3. Coedès (*op. cit*) seem to think the term to refer to Mons or Malayas of Rāmnī=Achin.

117. Khmer. The term refers to (the people of) Cambodia. Over this and the foregoing terms, see also Kern, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31 with f.ns. and Krom, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 264-65.

118. Apparently a class of persons

119. A messenger.

120. The term may refer to a representer of *vayang*-plays. In the inscription of Kĕdu (*TBG*, 67, p. 209), we find a *matapukan* in the group of musical artistes.

121. A dramatic artiste. In Modern Java, the term *ringgit* is used in the Krama language (ceremonial idiom) to denote, among others, a professional female dancer.

122. A clown.

123. A class of servants ?

124. This has been stated twice either for emphasis or carelessness of the copyist.

125. It is noteworthy that the writer does not present the name of the person aimed hereby. It is probable that the writer meant either *nghulun* or *mahulun*, the former of which stands for 1st person (sing or plur.) and the latter for 'king'. In the present instance, both the phrases should refer to the king. The use of *hulun* in the text is rather unusual. *cf*, Kern, *VG*, VIII, pp. 139-140 ; *Pararaton* 2nd ed, p. 115.

126. The significance of the title is not quite clear. See however Kern, *VG* VII, p. 44. Pigeaud says (*Java in the forteenth Century, IV* (1962) p. 441, that the term originally meant : venerable oldman, great grandfather and has been used as a title for men in authority, deriving their authority from religion. He is undoubtedly headman of rural community.

127. *Kapiting* may be a mistake for *kapitung*. The latter yields the above sense.

128. *Makudur* and *Vadihati* are high ecclesiastical officers. *Makudur may* signify 'Head of the *Kudur*', who is sometime separately mentioned. These functionaries generally appear in connexion with *saji*-offerings and the utterance of imprecatory formulae on the occasion of founding free-holds. From some Old-Jav. inscriptions around 829 Saka, it appears to me that *wadihati=ayam tĕas*, This point will be discussed more fully later on.

129 The text has *mangḍik* which may be a combination of the Mal. -Polynesian prefix *mang* with the Skt. *Dhik*.

130. *Mangṭahāsa* = Mal. -Polynesian prefix *mang*+Skt. *(a)ṭ(ṭ)ahās(y)a*.

131. Poerbatjaraka (*Agastya*, pp. 74-82) tried to show that Haricandana is one of the names of Agastya, but this point, in my opinion, has not been proved. *Cf.* also Krom, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 200-201. For earlier literature, reference may be made to Kern, *VG* VI, p. 295 f.n. *2* ; Bosch *TBG*, 57, p. 439 ; Pigeaud, *Tantu*, pp. 115. 272 ff.

132. Kern (*op. cit.*, p. 295, f.n, 1) says that *Kuruṣya* is the corrupted form of Karūṣa or Kārūṣa. The term may also be explained in other ways.

133. Baprakeśvara (var. va°.) may refer to the funerary temple of royal personages. *cf.* Stutterheim in *BKI*, 92, pp. 203-204. For earlier literature, reference may be made to Kern, *VG* VI, p. 296 ; VII, pp. 64-66 ; Vogel in *BKI*, 74, p. 167 ff ; Poerbatjaraka, *Agastya in den Archipel*, pp. 62-70 ; Stutterheim in *TBG*, 67, p. 201 f.n. 70 ; Bosch in *Ibid.*, p 474 ff. ; Krom. *Geschiedenis*, p. 72.

134. These may refer to : (a) mountain-deities, (b) spirits of forefathers, or (c) apotheosised kings. Vide Stutterheim in *TBG*, 74, p. 284.

135. In *TBG*, 74, p. 284, Stutterheim suggests the traslation of the passage by : you spirits of forefathers of Diĕng in the Śataśṛṅga-ranges.
Over the names of Ṣatasṛṅga, Mĕrapi, Sumbi Susuṇḍara, Kujatan, Valambaṅgan, Mĕḍang, Tavihang and Pangavan, Kern has made some remarks in *VG* VI, p. 307. See also Brandes in *Natulen*, 1888, p. 85 ; Rouffaer in *BKI*, 74, p. 148 ff. ; *TBG*, 67, pp. 175, 205 ; Krom, Ge*schiedenis*, p. 200 ; Stutterheim, *op, cit.*

136. See hereover, Kern, *VG*. VI, p. 296, f.n. 4.

137. They have been repeated twice.

138. Kern (*op. cit.*, p. 296) translates : you personified four world-periods.

139. *Śabda-sparśa-rūpa-rasa-gandha* are the *tanmātra*-s.

140. In pl. 3 *a* : 2, we find Mahāmāhino in the place of Bāhubajra.

141 From the preceding gradation, it may be presumed that the writer considers ministers (*mantrī*) to be Brāhmaṇas.

142. These are the names of the various classes of evil spirits.

143, This may signify either (a) spirits and giants, or (b) giants usually called *brahmarākṣasa-s*.

144. This couplet is written in corrupt Sanskrit. For a possible restoration, see Kern *VG*. VI, p. 297, f.n. 2.

145. This is the Old-Javanese translation of the above Sanskrit strophe.

146. Or, ".....Cañcu manggala presented (food-stuffs) before the whole public....."

147. The other equivalents of this name are Vilvatikta, Tiktavilva, Tiktamālūra and Tiktaśrīphala and they occur many times in the *Nāg*. (See these names in the Register of the *Nāg.*, in Kern *VG* VIII, pp. 131—132). For the antiquity of the name of Majapahit and the foundation of this town, see *Pararaton*, pp. 116 ff and Krom, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 346 ff. with literature cited in footnotes. It is just possible that the reference to Majapahit simply indicates that the record was copied in the Majapahit-period and has nothing to do with the antiquity of the record.

XIII

THE STONE OF TRUI TEPUSSAN I (CAṆḌI PETUNG 1), 764 S'AKA

This stone previously stood in the Resident's house at Magĕlang. [1] It is now preserved at the Batavia Museum where it is numbered D. 107. An impression of this record is mentioned in the *Notulen* 1869, Bijl. N. and *Notulen* 1876, Bijl . II ; it is now numbered 140 at the *Oudh. Bur.*[2] It has been described by Damais as the inscription of Tri Tĕpusan I (Caṇḍi Pĕtung I). The record was transcribed in *OJO* under no. X where it bore the title of Stone of Magĕlang. A fuller transcription of the record has been provided by de Casparis in his *Prasasti Indonesia* I pp. 74 ff.

The date of the inscription was read by Brandes as 796 S'aka. According to Damais,[3] the year should be read as 764, the exact date being 11th of November, 842 A. D. As inscription no. XIV of this volume is a fuller edition of this record, the translation of the record has been provided there.

The stone measures 1.27m. in height, 0.64m. in breadth and 0.30m. in thickness.

TEXT

1. ॥0॥ svasti śakavarṣṣāttĭa[4] 764 marggasiramāsa pa-
2. ñcamī suklapakṣa mavulu mitra śanaiścara[5] tatkāla
3. śrī kahulunnan manusuk vaṇva i tpussan[6] vatak kahu-
4. lunnan sīmā ning kamūlān i bhūmi sambhāra. savaḥ kanayakā-[7]
5. n viniḥnya hamat 18 punnah savaḥ ning[8] vinkas viniḥnya hamat[9] 5 punah sa-
6. vaḥ ning.....huma karua viniḥnya hamat.....kinon śrī kahulunnan
7. .....sang ḍarukap lakibi sang laki pu vidyā sang anakbi pu mu-
8. .....kinon milva manusuk sangka ri.....lva vinaiḥ vḍihan

FOOTNOTES OF NO. XIII

1. Verbeck, *Oudheden*, p. 149; *Notulen* 28 (1890) pp. 11-12, 63 ; cf. also Brandes in *Notulen* 27 (1889) p. 135.
2. *OJO*, p. 13.
3. *TBG* 83 (1949) p. 23 ; *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 29.
4. Brandes read : varṣātita.
5. Brandes read pañcami for pañcamī and karaiśvara for śanaiścara.
6. Brandes : i tritpussan.
7. Brandes : simā ni kamalān i bhumi sambhas*a* savaḥ kanayaka.
8. Brandes : hamat 1.....savah ni vinkas etc.
9. The reading of Brandes ends here.

XIV

THE STONE OF TRUI TEPUSSAN II (CANDI PETUNG II)
764 ŚAKA

This stone previously stood in the premises of the Resident at Magĕlang. It is now preserved at the Batavia Museum where it is numbered D. 39. An impression of this stone inscription forms No. 338 at the *Oudh. Bur.*,[1] while a plaster-cast is present at the Leiden Ethn. Mus. under no. 2987.[2] Regarding this stone, Dr. Brandes[3] furnished some particulars in 1887. He said that the stone is extremely rugged. It has, on one side, 33 semi-legible lines in Old-Javanese script of Central Java. It measures 127 c. m. in height, 64 in breadth and 30 in thickness.[4] The length of full lines is 48 c. m.

The inscription records that Śrī Kahulunnan marked out a village in 764 Śaka, the name of the village being the same as in the previous record i. e. Tĕru i Tĕpussan. It was made into a free-hold of the Kamūlān (i Bhūmi) Sambhara.

A transcription of this record was published in *OJO* under no. XVII, but fuller transcription, furnished with translation, elaborate notes etc., has been provided by de Casparis in his *Prasasti Indonesia* I pp. 79 ff. The year of the record was read by Brandes as 806 ; Damais has corrected the date as 764 in TBG 83 (1949) p. 23, the exact date, according to him, being 11th of November, 842. The reading offered below is based upon the transcription of de Casparis.[5]

TEXT

1. (svasti śakavarṣā)tīta 764 mārggaśiramāsa pañcamī[6] śuklapakṣ mavulu vagai *canaiscaravara* tatkāla śrī
2. kahulunnan manusuk vanva i tru i tpussan vatak kahulunnan simā ning kamūlān
3. (i bhūmi) sambhara savaḥ kanayakān viniḥnya hamat 8 punaḥ savaḥ ning vinkas viniḥnya hama-
4. (t 18) punaḥ savaḥ ning vadva[7] humma karua viniḥnya hamat 18 kinon śrī kahulunnan manusukka sang ḍa[8] -

5. (rukap) lakibi sang laki-laki pu vidyā[9] sang anakbi pu *mutra* muvaḥ kinon milva manusuk *sang kari*
6. ( ) lu vinaiḥ vṛiḥhan[10] yu 1 śivakidang kayumvungan pu kaṇḍyas[11] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan ha*mara*vu yu 1
7. ( )ḍanggi mantyāsih pu pandiri vinaiḥ vḍihan[12] ha*mara*vu yu 1 lavan vadung[13] 1 krĕs 1 puna ḥ maḍanggi
8. ( ) patapān sang ḍahval[14] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan śivakidang yu 1 punaḥ[15] maḍanggi[16] vanva vadva sang pumasu ahavang[17]
9. (vi)naiḥ vḍiḥhan śivakidang yu 1 lavan si[18] kaliṇḍuan[19] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan śivakidang yu 1 sākṣī[20] sang marhyang
10. (sthāpaka) *ing*[21] kroñca vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan putiḥ yu 1 man*carttiria* pu mavi[22] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan śivakidang yu 1
11. ( ) pu *mitra* vlaḥ syarata[23] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan śivakidang yu 1 parujar sang kayumvungan[24] si 1bak vinaiḥ vḍi-
12. ḥhan[25] yu 1 l[illegible]van[26] lukai 1 ta'aḥ 1 parujar sang mantysiḥa[27] si tija vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 lavan pa*tu*-
13. k 1 punaḥ juru i tru i tpussan[28] si manuliḥ vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 rama[29] matuha si[30] *ti*-
14. ( ) (vin)aiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 rama i lumku si kaṇṭi[31] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 suhan-suhan 1 ka-
15. (lima) i lupaṇḍak [32] sī*ka* [33] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 rama i dulang[34] kava si *nanda*[35] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1
16. (rama) i praggāluḥ si dhava[36] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 juru i varingin si agam[37] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan
17. (yu 1 lava)n tataḥ 1 rama i kḍu si kalap vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 rama i hulu vanva si nagap vinaih

18. *vḍi*hhan yu 1 juru i pamigaran si dhanu[38] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 rama i puhunnan[39] si gana[40] vi-
19. naiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 rama i vunut[41] si pagava[42] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 rama i kayumvungan[43] si ta-
20. mvaḥ[44] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 juru i mantyāsih si *k*ali vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 rama i tri haji[45] si ma-
21. na vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 rama i sukun si gana vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 juru i vuattan si rĕka- [46]
22. p [47] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 juru i ptir si jñaṭa [48] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 1 juru i paṇḍakyan si mnang [49] vinai-
23. h vḍiḥhan yu 1 rama i muṇḍvan [50] si kucira [51] vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 rama i kalaṇḍingan si rava-[52]
24. k vinaiḥ vḍḥhan yu 1 rama i vunha sampingani [53] viñaiḥ vḍiḥhan yu 1 ekapiṇḍa [54] ning vinaiḥ vḍiḥha-
25. n 33 // anung ginlar S'rī kahulunnan mūlā akala [55] ning manusuk[1] ṣīma [56] anak ṣang ḍarukap [57] si
26. ( )-nanta pu pangkara sangka [58] i rukap [59] // ikana ta dai masapata daḥ [60] kamung hyang yāvat yan ha-
27. ( ) susuk S'rī kahulunnan kadiyanggā niking han tlū at 9 vantingakanya [62] tan tka i
28 ( ) (mangkana ha) mangngannanya anung [63] umugah-ugah ya samangkana iking hayam tattakya [64] papa- [65]
29. ( ) nya mangkana [66] hamangngananya anung umugah-ugah ya samangkana yan pasukka ing
30. (alas mong u) mangngana [67] ya samangkana yan para ing tgal ulā matukka ya samangkana yan para ing

31. ( )-p ya [68] samankana yan para ing [69] luah vuhaya umangn-gana [70] ya samangkana ya-
32. ( ) ing *d*urungnya garutta [71] ( )-ngngamanya [72] anung umugahugaḥ [73] suśuk śrī ka-
33. (hulu)nnan likhita sang.....-ta //o//

TRANSLATION

1. (//Hail ! The Saka year) expired, 764, the month of Mārgaśira, fifth day of the bright half of the month, *mavulu*[74] *vagai*, [75] Saturday. At that time, S'rī
2. Kahulunnan [76] marked off the village at Trui-tpussan under Kahulunnan (as) free-hold of the Kamūlān[77]
3. (at Bhūmi) sambhāra [78] (as also) the *savaḥ* of the united body of the *nāyakas*, [79] whereof the yield [80] (amounted to) *hamat* 8 ; moreover, (regarding) the *savah* of the *vinkas*, its yield (amounted to) *hamat*
4. (18) ; moreover, the *savah* of the *vadvas*, [81] two families, whereof the yield (amounted to) *hamat* 18. By Śrī Kahulunnan were ordered to mark out lands (the following persons) :

   Sang ḍa(ng) Rukap,
5. husband and wife. The man (was called) *Pu* Vidyā, the woman (was called) Pu Mutra. Moreover, *Sang* Kari.....lu (?) was ordered to accompany (others) to mark out (the lands). He
6. received one pair of Śivakidang [82] cloth ; (the person from) Kayumvungan (viz) Pu Kaṇḍyas received *hamaravu* cloth one pair,
7. (the *Ma)ḍanggi* [83] from Mantyāsih (viz) *Pu* Pandiri received *hamaravu*-cloth [84] one pair, hatchet 1, kris 1. Moreover, the *maḍanggi*

8. ( ) from Patapān (viz) *Sang* Ḍahval received *śivakidang* cloth one pair. Moreover, the *maḍanggi* of the village of the *vadvas* (viz) *Sang* Pumasu (and the) Ahavang (?) [85]
9. received *śivakidang* cloth one pair and *Si* Kalinḍuan received *śivakidang* cloth one pair. The witnesses : *Sang* Marh ang
10. (sthāpaka) from Kroñca received white cloth one pair ; the *mancarttiris* (?) [86] (viz) *Pu* Mavi received *śivakidang* cloth one pair
11. ( ) *Pu* Mitra, the *vlah* [87] (viz) Si Arata received *śivakidang* cloth one pair, the *parujar* (of the person from) Kayumvungan (viz) *Si* Lbak received clo-
12. th one pair and chopper 1 and chisel 1 ; the *parujar* (of the person from) Mantyāsih (viz) *Si* Tija received cloth one pair and pick-
13. axe 1. Moreover, the *juru* of Trui tpussan (viz) *Si* Manuliḥ received cloth one pair ; the *rama matuha* (viz) *Si* Ti-
14. ( ) received cloth one pair the *rama* of Lumku (viz) *Si* Kaṇti received cloth one pair and *suhan-suhan* [88] 1 ; the Ka-
15. (lima) of Lu(a)paṇḍak (viz) Si Ika [89] received cloth one pair ; the *rama* of Dulangkava (viz) *Si* Nanda received cloth one pair ;
16. (the *rama*) of Praggāluḥ (viz) *Si* Dhava received cloth one pair ; the *juru* of Varingin (viz) *Si* Agam received cloth
17. (one pair and) one chisel ; the rama of Kḍu (viz) Si Kalap received cloth one pair ; the *rama* of Huluvanva (viz) *Si* Nagap received
18. cloth one pair ; the *juru* of Pamigaran (viz) *Si* Dhanu received cloth one pair ; the *rama* of Pahunnan (viz) *Si* Gana recei-
19. ed cloth one pair ; the rama of Vunut (viz) Si Pagava received cloth one pair ; the *rama* of Kayumvungan (viz) *Si* Ta-
20. mvaḥ received cloth one pair ; the *juru* of Mantyāsih (viz) *Si* Kali received cloth one pair ; the *rama* of Tri h ji (viz) *Si* Ma-
21. na received cloth one pair ; the *rama* of Sukua (viz) *Si* Gana received cloth one pair ; the *juru* of Vuattan (viz) *Si* Rāka-

22. p received cloth one pair ; the *juru* of Ptir (viz) *Si* Jñaṭā received cloth one pair ; the *juru* of Paṇḍakyan (viz) *Si* Mnang received
23. cloth one pair ; the *rama* of Muṇḍvan (viz) *Si* Kucira received cloth one pair ; the *rama* of Kalaṇḍingan (viz) *Si* Rava-
24. k received cloth one pair ; the *rama* of Vunha (viz) Sang [90] Pinangani received cloth one pair ; total of (those who) were given clothes
25. 33.//Those who were asked to take position by Śrī Kahulunnan at the commencement of the time of marking out the free-hold were : the sons (or daughters) of *Sang* Ḍa(ng) Rukap (viz) *Si*
26. ( ) and *Pu* Pangkara originating from Rukap // Thereupon follows the cursing : "Be gracious, [91] ye all deities (including spirits), as long as there remains……[92]
27. the foundation of Śrī Kahulunnan. Just as this egg, when smashed cannot return
28. to (its shell), [93] (so) shall be destroyed those who cause disturbance to the (foundation). Just as the hen, without knowing the true state of things, [94] (commits) sins
29. ( ) so shall be destroyed those who cause disturbance to this (foundation). [95] When such (a person) goes into
30. (the forest) may a tiger destroy such a person ; when he goes into the fields, may a snake bite him ; when such a person goes to
31. ……When such a person goes to the river, may a crocodile destroy him ; when such a person
32. (goes to) …… thus may be destroyed those disturbing the foundation of Śrī Ka-
33. (hulu)nnan. [96] The writer is *Sang*……..//o

1. *OJO*, p. 19.
2. Juynboll, *Katalog* V, p. 232.
3. *Catalogus Groeneveldt* pp. 387—88.
4. Juynboll gives a different measurement of tha stone, namely height 82,5 c.m., breadth 45 c.m.
5. As stated above, Brandes has left out the reading of many words. Accordingly, the footnotes on the text only indicate where Brandes(=Br.) differed from de Casparis.
6. Br. : °mi,
7. Br. : ni vanva haj
8. Br. : sanḍa
9. Br, : vidya
10. Br. : vdiḥhan
11. Br. : °dyal
12. Br. : manḍiri vinaiḥ vḍiḥhan
13. Br. : gu yu l vanva
14. Br. : tan sanḍangval
15. Br. : puraḥ
16. Br. : manga i
17. Br. : sovang
18. Br. : lavanya
19. Br. : linḍa n
20. Br. : sakṣi
21. Br. : i
22. Br. : i *kariya* pu masa
23. Br. : yu
24. Br. : kayu mṛ n
25. Br. : han
26. Br. : Iravan
27. Br. : samantya
28. Br. : pu mpan
29. Br. : *sang*
30. Br. : i
31. Br. : kañci
32. Br. : la panḍak
33. Br. : sika
34. Br. : langai
35. Br : *ptung*
36. Br. : banḍa
37. Br. : agas
38. Br. : garu
39. Br. : pulunnan
40. Br. : gunā
41. Br. : vunuk
42. Br, : pa(ṇa)ga(ng)va
43. Br. : °bung°
44 Br. : mbaḥ
45. Br. : śrīhaji
46. Br. , suka
47. Br. : na
48. Br. : pti sanghap
49. Br. : sima
50. Br. : manḍan
51. Br. : guva
52. Br. : raga
53. Br. : vunta sampingi
54. Br. : kaisinḍi
55. Br. : mulā *akasa*
56. Br. : śima
57. Br. : sanḍa*nukap*
58. Br. : pu *satka sa*
59. Br. : nukap
60. Br. : mapapa tadaḥ
61. Br. : an
62. Br. : °vintanga°
63. Br. : ana
64 Br. : taktakya
65. Br. : papā
66. Br. : samang°
67. Br. : °ganna
68. Br. : mo pya ya
69. Br. : i
70. Br. : umanganna
71. Br. : va i dunungnya *kāru*
72. Br. : mangaṇanyanya
73 Br. : umulaḥulaḥ
74. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
75. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.

76. Krom *Geschiedenis*, p. 182, f.n 6 refers to Śrī as epithet of a notable person. Normally the title Śrī has been found to be assumed by kings. Van Naerssen (BKI, 95, 1937 p. 448, note 15) thought of "onafhankelijke grootheid", a view generally shared by other scholars. Damais in TBG, 83 (1949) p. 23 thought, for want of a clear royal title, that it refers to 'high position in society by relationship with the reigning king". De Casparis has discussed the matter in greater details in his *Praśasti Indonesia* I pp 83 ff and has come to the conclusion, on the basis of the use of the word elsewhere, specially in the Old-Java. Rāmāyaṇa, that the word refers to the principal consort of the king. De Casparis thinks that the root of the word is *hulu* (head and not *hulun* (slave) and that one of the double *n's* before the suffix *an* has a binding force. This is not impossible. It seems to me however that the word *hulun* may as well be maintained to denote the principal or the most beloved queen of the king. It is an idiom or way of expression, well understood in India, by which wives, even queens, have described themselves as "slaves at the feet of their husbands or masters. "while the basic assumption of de Casparis that Śrī Kahulunnan refers, from etymological point of view, to the principal queen of the king may be right, it is not precluded that Śrī Kahulunnan is he proper name of a person or that it refers to an illustrious person in charge of the united body of slaves. This latter conception is not in conflict with what we know of the Central Javanese social organisation. cf. rakryan mahulun in No. 56. 11.

77. It literally denotes a place where a mūla i.e. root or origin is located ; in other words, it refers to a sanctuary where an object is placed or installed for veneration by the public It may refer to the founder of the dynasty or may contain relic connected with religion, as in the case of Buddhist stūpas of India.

78. According to de Casparis the complete name of this monument must have been Bhūmisambhārabhūdhara which would mean "the Mountain of Accumulation of Virtue of the (ten) stages (of the Bodhisattva)". In that case, the element bhūdhara is an addition. De Casparis thinks that the name of Barabudur is derived from the second part of the name i.e. from Bhārabhūdhar(a) . Unfortunately, the only legible portion of the name as recorded in this inscription runs as ; kāmūlān ( ) sambhara. While not denying the possibility that the sambhara of this place is the remnant of Bhūmisambhārabhūdhara, we should recognise that the difficulty still persists. The views of de Casparis may be seen, op.cit. pp. 160-70. An up-to-date resume on the name problem of Barabudur may be seen in Stutterheim, *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology* (1956) pp.12-17

79. De Casparis says, op.cit , p.93 f.n. 3 that the *nayaka* of this time exercised administrative functions, He may indeed be supposed to be a "care-taker" of the appanage (cf. no 74 7) and that is why he is one of the first persons named not to enter into the free-hold. He is even sometimes threatened with fine, should he ever try to trnsgress upon the stipulations of the foundation-charter (98. 14- 15). It does not therefore appear surprising to us that, in 56.A.12, he receives confirmation gift as a matter of right when a free-hold is created. In no. 68.3. we find that he had a definite say in land-measurement and his decision could only be revised by the *rakryan mapath*. The seniormost *nayaka* seems also to enjoy a judical

status, because in a legal case (no. 90.15) he is found to issue a confirmatory-document in favour of the victorious party.

80. De Casparis translates the term by 'whereof the seed.....'

81. De Casparis translates the term by'slaves'. I should like to put a query to it' as the context in other inscriptions does not always bear out that interpretation. In 68.5, he is member of a subordinate staff connected with land-measurement. He might have other functions as well. The term also occurs in combination with such words as *vadva rarai, tuhan vadva rarai* etc. It is difficult to judge at the present stage of our knowledge if the *vadva rarais* can be brought in in connexion with the measurement of lands. It is however possible to argue that the *vadvas* and the *vadva rarais* constituted two different categories of people. If we interprete *vadva* in the sense in which de Casparis understands it, we may imagine that the services of slaves were sometimes requisitioned in connexion with land-survey or measurement.

82. Was this pattern of cloth called as such, because it contained the representation of god Śiva and a kidang i. e. deer?

83. De Casparis thinks that the term *maḍanggi* may be derived from the prākṛt *mṛdanggin* i.e. player of a kind of drum. If this view be correct, it would be one of the rare loans from Prākṛt to Old-Javanese.

84. A pattern of cloth. The pattern of cloth called *Śivakidang* and *hamaravu* gradually went out of fashion and is not mentioned in later Old-Javanese inscriptions.

85. For want of *sovang sovang* in the text, here and elsewhere in this inscription, is it permissible to imagine that the pair of colth was divided among parties concerned? Or, was it so well-known that reference to *sovang sovang* was considered redundant? It is however difficult to imagine such lapses in an edict associated with an august person of the status of Śrī Kahulunnan.

86 The word *mañcarttiris* is intreaguing and cannot be satisfactorily explained Can it be man(g)caritta i ris i e. the reciter (of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other epic ballads) from (the village) Ris? The transformation of *mangca* into *mañca* is not impossible due to influence of oral speech or other reasons. The word 'macaritta' in the sense described above occurs in no. 72.9 below. The association of the words *maḍanggi* and *sang marhyang* with this word would be quite in keeping with this idea.

87. Elsewhere : *vlahhan*. In the list of functionaries, he usually stands close to ecclesiastical personages and may therefore be a religious functionary. A study of 70. B.11 seems to indicate that he is possibly an assistant to the *makudur* in the foundation-ceremony where he assists the latter in making arrangements connected with invocation to deities and uttering of curse-formulae.

88. It seems to be used here in the sense of an implement, as in 10.42 above, because the term seems here to be distinguished from the preceding word signifying cloth. Elsewhere it seems to refer to a pattern of cloth,

89. The author has used Skt. Sandhi-rule here.

90. It shows that m=ng.

91. Here *daḥ* seems to be the abbreviated form of *indaḥ*, which occurs at this place in some inscriptions.

92. *Ha-* in the text seems to be the remnant of *hana*.

93. *Cf.* no. 86. III 21-22 for the same idea.

94. I take *tattakya* as the corrupt form of Skt. *tattvājña* i. e. 'ignorant of the true state of things'. The phonetic value of the two words is almost the same.

95. This line has not been translated by de Casparis.

96. In the Kalasan and Kālurak inscriptions (nos. 5 & 6), the future kings have been reqested to protect the foundations referred to in those charters. Obviously, the request was not enough, and a curse-formula was later on inserted to strike terror into the heart of the transgressors, If we leave aside the questionable charter of Kuṭi (no. 12), whose authenticity has been doubted by many and where elaborate imprecatory formulae of later times have been inserted in an earlier set-up, this charter of undoubted authenticity would provide us with an example regarding the beginnings of curse-formulae in Old-Javanese inscriptions.

XV

THE SILVER UMBRELLA OF MANDANG (SUCEN I), 765 ŚAKA

Three silver umbrellas were discovered in 1887 from the hamlet of Mandang in *desa* Sucen of the Těmanggung division of the residency of Kědu.[1] They are now preserved in the Jakarata Museum where they are numbered 685 a-c.[2] An inscription on one of these umbrellas states that on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Monday, on the fifteenth of Caitra, 765 Śaka, the *ḍang hyang guru*, called Mahā, presented a silver umbrella to the god of the free-hold. By referring this date to the Christian calendar, it has been found that there was indeed a lunar eclipse on March 19,843 A. D.[3] The date of the record is thus confirmed.

The inscription has been edited by Dr. Brandes[4] with text, translation and an elaborate note on the date of the lunar eclipse.

TEXT

(1) svasti śakavarṣātīta 765 caitramāsa tithi pañcadaśī candragrahaṇa

(2) somavāra śūnyasthāna hariyang pahing tatkāla ḍang hyang guru mahā madāna rajatacha(t)tra[5] ri sang hyang ri(ng) sīma,

(3) bhāranya sakati agranya maṇikasphaṭika inammassan lima(ng) mas.

TRANSLATION

Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 765, the month of Caitra, fifteenth day (of the bright half of the month), (during) the lunar eclipse, (2) on Monday, (while the Sun stood) on the place (called) śūnya, on *haryang*[6], *pahing*[7]. At that time, the *ḍang hyang guru*[8] (named) Mahā presented a silver umbrella to the god of the free-hold. (3) The weight thereof is one *kati*; the top knob thereof is of stone-crystal inlaid with five *masa* gold.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Notulen*, 1887, p. 35; Verbeek, *Oudheden*, p. 134.
2. *Notulen*, 1888, p.20; *OJO*,p. 261.
3. *Notulen*, 1888, pp.22-24, 111-117; *BEFEO* 45 (1951) P.4 and 46 (1952) pp, 17, 31.
4. *Notulen*, 1888, pp. 20-25, 111-117; *ROC*, 1911,p. 252.
5. So transcribes Brandes. The correct Skt. form is: Chatra.
6. A Mal. -Polynesian day of the six-day week.
7. A Mal. -Polynesian day of the five-day week.
8. Lit. The reverend teacher. It is an ecclesiastical epithet composed of three parts, viz; *ḍang+hyang+guru*. The principal word in this combination is *guru* i.e. teacher, to which *ḍang* and *hyang*, which bear spiritual significance, have been added. An ecclesiastical title called *ḍapu hyang* also occurs in some later inscriptions. Both these offices have not however been mentioned after 914-15. AD. It is difficult to say if there is any gradation of status between *ḍanghyang* and *ḍapu hyang*. On the face of it, they seem to be identical.

XVI

THE STONE OF TULANG AIR 1 (CAṆḌI PĔROT I), 772 ŚAKA.

The find-spot of this inscription appears to be Caṇḍi Pĕrot of the Tĕmanggung division of the residency of Kĕdu, though Rouffaer[1] conjectured that it was obtained from Pikatan of the same division. According to a copy of this record in the library of the Royal University at Leiden,[2] the stone was indeed obtained from Caṇḍi Pĕrot. In 1819 it was despatched from that place to the Resident's house at Magĕlang This information is remarkably confirmed by notes on a copy of this inscription preserved at the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris.[3] The stone is now numbered D. 7 in the Jakarta Museum. Impressions of this record form *Oudh. Bur.* nos. 245 and 335,[4] while a plaster-cast is numbered 2986 at the Leiden Ethn. Mus.[5]

Regarding this stone, Dr. Brandes[6] furnished the following particulars in 1887. He said that the upper extremity of the stone is round, though it is rough in the front side. The inscription stands on the margin of a sunk level of the stone. It is black in colour, porous and weather-beaten. One side of the stone is written in Old-Javanese script of Central Java. Of the 37 lines, the right and the left portions of the lowest part have been damaged. The record measures 111 c.m. through the centre, 91 at the sides, 60 in breadth above, 59 below, 25 in thickness above, 23 below. De Casparis (*op. cit.*, II p. 211) gives a slightly different measurement.

The date of the inscription was read in Juynboll's *Katalog*, p. 374 as 773 Śaka; in *OJO* it has been read as 775. Damais[7] reads the year as 772 Śaka, the exact date being 15th June 850 A. D.

Regarding palaeographical peculiarities of this inscription, de Casparis[8] has observed that almost the only point worthy of note is the form of the *virāma* (*Paten* in Javanese) in a few cases, because it has been written below in stead of above the *akṣara*.

The inscription records how the *rakai* Patapān named *Pu* Manukū marked out a free-hold at Tualng Air.

The inscription was transcribed in *OJO* where it bears no. VI. A part of the facsimile has also been published in the same (pl.2). A fuller transcription of the record has been published by de Casparis, *op.cit.*, I pp. 232 ff., under *b*, with translation and elaborate notes.

TEXT

1. //svasti śakavarṣātīta 9
2. 772 10 āsādhamāsa tithi dvitīya 11
3. suklapakṣa.12 tu. pa. ā. vāra hana ryy 13=umaḥnya tatkā-
4. la rakai patapān pu manukū manusuk=ṣema i tulang ai-
5. r ratu tatkāla rakai pikatan patiḥ rakai vka pu puluvatu 14
6. sirikan pu sarvva. tiruan pu mantara. mangahuri 15 pu manduta.16 halaran pu
7. madhāva. 17 palarhyang pu vairava.18 vlaḥhan pu tunggū.19 daliman pu manū. pangkur pu *a*-20
8. gra. tavān pu mulung. tirip pu gadā. langpi pu 21 manglakṣa 22 vadihati pu manavan. *maku*-
9. dur pu gadā. anung mangasö i patapān milu sikhalān 23 karua pu bhadra pu tuma-
10. k ḍatar pu aku vadvā rakarayān mapatiḥ milu sang ḍakalang 24 i sirikan sang garavuy i 25 (ti)
11. ruan sang 26 talaga i manguhuri 27 sang katuḍaing i halaran sang jivana i palarhyang sang ḍa-
12. miliḥhan i vlaḥhan sang ḍakukap i dalinan sang hrĕtan i pangkur sang ḍakampa-
13. k 28 i tavān sang ḍavamlar 29 i tirip sang kamalagyan i lampi sang damalung 30 vahu-

14. ta makudur sang katuvuḥhan sang ḍaragang [31] vadvā rakaryān patapān ṭatkā-
15. la mangtaṇḍa[32] si maṇḍi tuhān = ning nayaka rua si bhantu si damo parvvuvus si mangdana tuhān = ning [33]
16. vadvā rarai si śrīdhara [34] tuhān = ning [35] kalula si niha tuhān [36] ning manapal sy = ulihan. patiḥ [37] va-
17. nua kayumvungan si dhantan [38] mantyasiḥ si jakkara [39] parvuvusnya punta pramāṇa [40] si gandaḥ [41] punta [42]
18. sḍang [43] si muranā [44] lvapaṇḍak si mandiha [45] vahuta patir si [46] hayu jurunya si saisa
19. rama [47] si rutung [48] paṇḍakyan si sara [49] jurunya si maring [50] kalima si nahan i tulang air ju-
20. ru limus si balubung [51] rama si taravaṇa kalima si jana [52] silijuru si rgga parvuvus si pasa- [53]
21. t variga si ñcung [54] i tulang air juru kuñci si sayut rama [55] si kesava kalima si
22. bhānu [56] silijuru si kala parvuvus si vuri [57] variga si dhasa tuha banua si bañcung si nana [58]
23. .....sang si varā si ḍaṇḍa...ra [59] si jantra hulair si layar matamvak[60] si tamuy mula [61]
24. si taguḥ paḍahi manggala si manūt mapakan si mulyang [62] tuhalas sy = avit hulu
25. tangngaḥ [63] si dava macaru si naran [64] jumput ing [65] śrī maṇḍaki si niru ri [66] kuñci si siga. ing [67]
26. prasiñang [68] ing limus [69] si krahu i parang [70] si sanā ing paṇing [71] si tavang ing kakalyan [72] si mi-
27. liḥ ing tivrus [73] si haryyang [74] anak ring [75] sīma ing tulang air ing krodha [76] si dhura ing [77] air = pa-
28. pi si pagar si panga ing kakar si paḍar [78] ing limus [79] vatu si [80] sañjanā ing [81] talang ai-
29. r si malini ing manāha [82] si guvasang i kayu...u...n = si.....ing kaṇḍangan si mu-
30. lya...vus hyang tiru... ing prasāda [83] si vanasi juru···kalima si
31. siga parvuvus sang *hada* [84] juru ing...la...*valaḥhan* si·····juru ing samala-[85]

32. gi si tala.....juru i munggu si pangsat
33. kalima si jati juru ing [86] vunha [87] si···rama si napal mapakan ing [88]
34. munggu antan si laya...···hat marhyang [89] ing [90] prasāda ing kabanyagān [91] si ka-
35. ṇḍi hulu vras [92] si marovang [93] juru ing [94] air = pyal [95] si huvus rāma si rutus [96] juru ing [97] ai-
36. r = hulu si milar rama [98] si tangguḥ [99] juru ing [100] sulangkuning [101] si bantal i *masa*lañcang
37. ...kalang [102] i lu.u···si · //end

TRANSLATION

1.//Hail ! The Śaka year past,
2. 772, the month of Āṣāḍha, second day
3. of the bright half of the month, *tunglai* [103] *paḥing*, [104] Sunday, while (the planet was) in its (proper) mansion. At that
4. time, the *raka* of Patapān (viz) *Pu* Manukū marked out a free-hold at Tulang air.
5. The king at that time [105] was the *raka* of Pikatan,[106] the *patiḥ* [107] was the *raka* of Vka (named) *Pu* Pul$_u$vatu,
6. the *sirikan* was *Pu* Sarvva, the *tiruan* was *Pu* Mantara, the *mangahuri* was *Pu* Manduta, the *halaran* [108] was *Pu*
7. Madhāva, the *palarhyang* [109] was *Pu* Vairava, the *vlaḥhan* [110] was *Pu* Tunggū, the *dalinan* [111] was *Pu* Manū, the *pangkur* was *Pu* A-
8. gra, the *tavan* was *Pu* Mulung, the *tirip* [112] was *Pu* Gadā, the *langpi* [113] was *Pu* Manglakṣa, the *Vadihati* was *Pu* Manavan, the *maku-*
9. *dur* was *Pu* Gadā. Those who were dependent on Patapān accompaniedi[114] viz the two : (representative of) Sikhalān (viz) *Pu* Tuma-

10. k and (the representative of) Datar [115] (viz) *Pu* Aku. Accompanying (them) were the *vadva* of the *rakarayān mapatih* (viz) *sang ḍa(ng)* Kalang, [116] (the *vadvā*) of the *sirikan* (viz) sang Garavuy, (the *vadvā*) of the (ti)

11. *ruan* (viz) *sang* Taliga, (the *vadvā*) of the *manguhuri* (viz) sang Katuḍaing, (the *vadvā*) of the *halaran* (viz) *sang* Jivaṇa, (the *vadvā*) of the *palarhyang* (viz) *sang ḍalng*)

12. Miliḥhan, [117] (the *vadvā*) of the *vlaḥhan* (viz) *sang ḍa(ng)* Kukap, (the *vadvā*) of the *dalinan* (viz) *sang* Hrĕtan, (the *vadvā* of the *pangkar* (viz) *sang ḍa(ng)* Kampak,

13. (the *vadvā*) of the *tavān* (viz) *sang ḍa(ng)* Vamlar, (the *vanvā*) of the *tirip* (viz) sang Kamalagyan, (the *vadvā*) of the *lampi* (viz) *sang ḍa(ng)* Malung,

14. the *vahutas* [118] of the *makudur* (viz) *sang* Katuvuḥhan (and) *sang ḍa(ng)* [119] Ragang. The *vadvās* of the *rakarayān* of Patapān at that time were :

15. the *mangtanḍa* (viz) *Si* Manḍi, the two *tuhan-s* [120] of the *nayaka* were (viz) *Si* Bhantu (and) *Si* Damo, the *parvuvus* [121] (was) *Si* Mangdana, the *tuhān* of the

16. *vadvā rarai* [122] (was) *Si* Śrīdhara, *the tuhān* of Kalula (chief of potters ?) (was) *Si* Niha, the *tuhān* of Manapal (chief of sculptors ?) (was) *Si* Ulihan, [123] the *patiḥ* of the vill-

17. age of Kayumvungan (was) *Si* Dhantan, (the *patiḥ* of) Mantyasiḥ was *Si* Jakkhara ; their *parvuvus*-es were the *punta* of Pramāṇa named *Si* Gandaḥ (and) *punta*

18. of Sḍang (named) *Si* Muranā (and) (the *patiḥ* of) Lvu Paṇḍak (was) *Si* Mandiha, the *vahu a* of Patir (was) *Si* Hayu, his *juru* (was) *Si* Saisa,

19. the *rama* (was) *Si* Rutung, (the *vahuta* of) Paṇḍakyan (was) *si* Sana, his *juru* (viz) *Si* Maring, the *kalima* (was) *si* Nahan. At Tulang air (the following persons were represented) : the *ju-*

20. *ru* of Limus [124] (viz) *Si* Balubung, the *rama* (named) *Si* Taravaṇa, the kalima (named) *Si* Jana, the acting juru (named) *Si* Rgga, the parvuvus (named) *si* Pasat

21. the *variga* (named) *si* Ncung. (Also) present at Tulang air were the *juru* (of) Kuñci (viz) *Si* Sayut, the *rama* (named) *Si* Kesava, the *kalima* (viz) *Si*

22. Bhānu, the acting *juru* (named) *Si* Kala, the *parvuvs* (viz) *Si* Vuri, the *variga* (viz) *Si* Dhasa, the *tuha banua-s* [125] (viz) *Si* Bañcang, *Si* Nana

23. ……Si Varā(and) *Si* Ḍaṇḍa…Si Jantra, the *hulair* [126] (viz) *Si* Layar, the *matamvak*[127] (viz) *Si* Tamuy, the *mula* (viz)

24. *Si* Taguḥ, the *paḍahi* of Manggla[128] (viz) *Si* Manūt, the *mapakan* (viz) *Si* Mulyang, the *tuhalas* (viz) *Si* Avit, [129] the *hulu*

25. *tangah* [130] (viz) *Si* Dava, the *macaru*[131] (viz) *Si* Naran, the *jumput-s* (witness ?) from Śrī Maṇḍaki : *Si* Niru; from Kuñci : *Si* Siga; from

26. Pĕra : *Si* ñang; [132] from Limus : *Si* Krahu; from Parang : *Si* Sanā; from Paṇing : *Si* Tavang; from Kakalyan : *Si* Mi-

27. liḥ; from Tivrus : *Si* Haryyng; the inhabitants from the free-hold at Tulang air; from Krodha : Si Dhura ; from Air Pa-

28. pi : *Si* Pagar (and) *Si* panga; from Kakar : *Si* Paḍar; from Limus vatu : *Si* Sañjanā; from Talang air :

29. *Si* Malini; from Manāha : *Si* Guvasang; from Kayumvungan (?) : *Si*…… from Kaṇḍangan Si Mulya……

30. ……from Prasāda (temple ?) : *Si* Vanasi ; the *Juru*……the *Kalima* : *Si*

31. Siga; the *parvuvus* : *sang* Hada, the Juru from……the *valahhan* : *Si*…… ; the *Juru* from Samala-

32. gi : [133] *Si* Tala…… ; the *juru* from Munggu : *Si* Pangat ;

33. the *kalima* : *Si* Jati ; the *Juru* from Vunha : *Si*…… ; the *rama* (viz) *Si* Napal ; the *mapakan* from

34 Munggu antan : *Si* Laya…the *marhyang* (i.e. priest) from the temple of the united body of merchants ;Si Ka-

35. ṇḍi ; the *hulu vras* : [134] (viz) *Si* Marovang ; the *Juru* from Air pyal : *Si* Huvus ; the *rāma*:Si Rutus ; the *Juru* from Air

36. hulu : *Si* Milar ; the *rama* : *Si* Tangguḥ ; the *Juru* from Sulang-kuning : *Si* Bantal ; (the *Juru*) from Masalañcang
37. ..... the *kalang* from.....*Si*.....//end.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Notulen*, 1909, p. LXXVIII
2. *TBG*, 47,p. 455.
3. *OV*, 1924, p. 23.
4. *OJO* p.7.
5. Juynboll, *Katalog* V, p. 232.
6. *Catalogus Groeneveldt*, p. 374,
7. *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 31; 47 (1955)p.23.
8. *Op. Cit.* IIp. 212.
9. Brandes (=Br.) read: ṣatita.
10. Br. : 775
11. Br. : dvitiya. Read : āṣāḍhamāsa tithi dvitiyā.
12. Br. : sūkla° ; read śukla°
13. Br. : yy
14. Br. : pulung°
15. Br. : mangu°
16. Br. : manḍ°
17. Br, : mañavang
18. Br. : baitava
19. Br. : tugū
20. Br. : The letter was not read by Brandes.
21. Br. : su
22. Br. read the whole word as pisumanglaksa
23. Br. : Si lalān
24. Br : *pu* kalang
25. Br. : ga i
26. Br : Sa
27. Br. : mangnguhuri
28. Br. : t
29. Br. : ḍa gumlar
30. Br. : ḍa ma(ng) yung
31. Br : ḍa(ng) raga
32. Br. : matanḍa
33. Brandes did not read the word.
34. Br. : śri°
35. Br.: ni
36. Br. : tuhan
37. The word was not read by Brandes.
38. Br. : gāntan
39. Br. : *mi rkkha*
40. Br. : na° Dr. Goris thought (*TBG*, 70, p.162) that the reading is doubtful. In the inscription of Kamalagi (Kuburan Canḍi : no.9) we have in a corresponding place punta ni parama. That does not, of course, mean that the name Pramāṇa is impossible in the present instance.
41. Br. : °dha
42. Br. : pu
43. Br. : ṣthang.
44. Br, : pimuraba.
45. Br. : manniha.
46. Brandes does not read it.
47. Br. : rāma.
48. Br. : rutu.

49. Br. : sanā.
50. Br. : masi.
51. Br. : balubu
52. Br. : janā.
53. Br. : pa
54. Br. : °ñcu
55. Br. : rāma.
56. Br. : gānung
57. Br. : vuji.
58. Br. vanua si vañcung si ba
59. Br. : *mara*.
60. Br. : matambak.
61. Brandes did not read the word.
62. Br. : mūlya.
63. Br. : tangaḥ
64. Br. : nara.
65. Br. : 1
66. Br. : manḍakini.
67. Br. : juri kunci in place of niru ri kuñci.
68. Br. : prasiña i.
69. Br. : limut
70. Br. : sarang.
71. Br. : paṇi
72. Br. : kakabyan.
73. Br. : tibran
74. Br. : haysima.
75. Br. : ni
76. Brandes did not read the word.
77. Br. : 1.
78. Br. : ḍatar,
79. Br. : limut.
80. Brandes did not read here vatu si
81. Br. : 1
82. Brandes leaves out several words.
83. Br : prasāḍa. He leaves out several words from this line.
84. Br. : si sahasa. He leaves out several words from this line.
85. Br. : savar la.
86. Br. i
87. Br : vungha.
88. Br. : i. He has not read several words from this line.
89. Br. : matya
90. Br. : i.
91. Br. : °gan.
92. Br. ; luvas.
93. Br. : mabāng.
94. Br. : *vadura* i
95. rB. : aipyal
96. Br. : nutus
97 Br : i
98. Br. : rāma.
99 Br. : taguḥ.
100. Br. : . i
101. Br. : salangkung ni.
102. Br. : talay.

103. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
104. A Mal-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
105. This is the oldest document to give us a regular list of Javanese official hierarchy, which is almost a regular feature of Old-Javanese inscriptions.
106. De Casparis has drawn our attention to the fact that the king's name is unornamental and that his name has been placed after the name of *rakai* patapān.

According to the charter of Mantyasih (no. 70), the predecessor of *rakai* pikatan was king *rakai* garung. Now if *rake* Garung had entered into the monastic life and assumed accordingly the title of *rakai* patapān, after abdicating, at least temporarily, his royal functions, as seem to be suggested by the word Patapān (the place of *tapas* or religious exercise), the lower status of *rakai* pikatan would be quite understandable. It is noteworthy that the *rakai* pikatan does not use the Skt. title of mahārāja nor give a Skt. *abhiṣeka*-name: he uses the Indonesian royal title *ratu*.

Regarding *rake* Pikatan, see Krom *Geschiedenis*, pp. 156-7; Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa* I p. 238; Coedes, *Les etats etc.* p. 184; Sarkar, "Some problems concerning the Mataram-kings of Central Java" in *Proceedings of XXVI International Congress of Orientalists. 1964.*

107. De Casparis has already observed, *op.cit.*, p. 238 f.n. 165 that the status of the *patihs* depended upon whom they served or represented and that the original meaning of the term might have been "executor of orders" (cf. Stutterheim in *TBG* 74, 1934. p. 290, f.n. 3 and *Ins. Ned. Ind.* I, 1940, p. 32). De Casparis finds support for this interpretation from the fact that not only the highest dignitaries after the king, but also dignitaries of lesser status have borne the same *patih*-titles. The former executes royal orders, the latter those of local chieftains. A *patih* may indeed be "executor of orders", but it is doubtful if this was the original meaning of the term. It appears to me that the word may be the same as Skt. *patih*, which signifies, among others: lord, master, chief etc. As the Old-Javanese *patis* have various functions, the derivation of the term from Skt. and the association of the holder of this title with land and administrative functions cannot be altogether ignored. In older inscriptions the *rakarayān mapatihs* have almost always exercised high administrative function.

108. The *halaran* appears to be a religious functionary, but the scope of his activities is not quite clear. In 64.1.11 he is distinctly called a *rake*. He is normally placed after *sirikan* or *tiruan* and before *panggil hyang*. In the foundation charters, he is usually placed at the head of religious functionaries.

109. Temple-inspector or temple-priest? The term does not seem to correspond to *panggil hyang*, as bearers of the title of *palarhyang* and *panggilhyang* in 86 I.8 and 86. III. 8. are two different persons. It may however be conceded that both of them are religious functionaries.

110. He is a religious functionary. It appears from 70.B 11 that he is connected with ceremonies where imprecatory formula is uttered against future transgressors of the free-hold.

111 He is obviously a religious functionary, as his name crops up in the midst of ecclesiastical dignitaries. The exact function of this officer is unknown.

112. De Casparis (*op.cit.* I p. 220) has invited our attention to the Kalasan inscription (no. 5), where *pangkur*, *tavan* and *tirip* have been described as *deśādhyakṣa*, *mahāpuruṣa* and *ādeśaśāstrin*. I believe that *deśa* here has the significance of village or rural areas (*deśa* in modern Bengali and mod. Javanese) i.e. Skt *grāma* and Old-Jav *vanua* and its variants. The totality of the rural areas or villages would naturally correspond to the country. These officers may be

inspectors of villages or rural areas which they visited as important royal functionaries to enforce collection of (unpaid) royal taxes. De Casparis has translated the term *deśādhyakṣa* by "Inspectors (possibly surveyors or sheriffs) over the country." Since these officers have also been described as *ādeśaśastrin*, it is necessary to understand the significance of the word in the context described above. The use of the word *śastrin* indicates that these officers were somehow connected with 'weapons'. The *ādeśaśastrins* should therefore be understood in the sense of "Inspectors who supervise the execution of royal orders in the rural areas about collection of unpaid taxes etc by force of arms. If the taxes were paid willingly enough, there would have been no need to employ force. De Casparis has however concluded that *pangkur*, *tavan* and *tirip* are the titles of three court-dignitaries whose main task was the supervision over forces to execute royal orders. Whatever be the exact function of these dignitaries, they do not appear to be exclusively connected with administive affairs, because in lines 11-13 below they would appear in the midst of ecclesiastical officers.

113. An officer of unknown function. In 54.8, he and the ecclesiastical officers described before him bear the title *samgat*, which is ordinarily the title of an administrative officer,

114. See note of de Casparis on *milu* in *op.cit.*, p. 238, f.n.161.

115. Regarding *sikhalān* and *ḍatar*, see de Casparis, *op.cit*, p. 238 f.n. 162 & 163.

116. I find it difficult to agree with de Casparis regarding the formation of the proper name of this *vadva*, as also of some other *vadvas* following. It would appear queer indeed that most of the names of *vadvas* bear the honorific *sang* and the first two letters of the proper names begin with *ḍa*. The multiplicity of the *ḍa-s* at the beginning of the proper names ensures that it cannot be an accidental phenomenon. The letters *ḍa* should therefore stand as the abbreviated form of *ḍa(ng)*.

117. In several places of this inscription, the last consonant of the base-word has been doubled if it has been followed by the suffix *an*,

118. The *vahutas* of the *makudur*, who are here two in number, probably assisted the *makudur* in arrangements connected with the uttering of the imprecatory formula of the foundation-ceremonies. They are probably the same as *vahuta hyangs*, who are found in the same function in some other inscriptions. The meaning of the term is however obscure (Cf. de Casparis, *op. cit.*, II p. 238, f.n. 165).

119. I suppose that *ḍa*, which is the abbreviated form of *ḍang*, corresponds to: reverend, honourable. The titles *ḍang*, *ḍaḍang*, *ḍampulan*, *ḍapunta* or *ḍampunta*, *punta hyang*, *guru pangajyan*, *ḍang acaryya*, *ḍang aryya*, *ḍang hyang guru*, *ḍapu*, *ḍapu hyang*, *bhagavanta* etc are ecclesiastical titles. I do not believe that *ḍaman*, to which our attention has been invited in this connexion by de Casparis and which term occurs in *OJO* XIX (see below, no.56), is an ecclesiastical title: it is the abbreviated form of the village-name ḍaman-tarṣa, which occurs in 1. 4. and elsewhere in that inscription. The shortening of village names has also been found in other places of Old-Javanese inscriptions.

120. They are officers of mediocre status, being chiefs over officeholders working at a lower level.
121. The terms *parujar, parvuvus, mamuat ujar* and *mamuat vuvus*, which occur in different places of the Old-Javanese inscriptions, bear, from etymological point of view, the same or almost the same meaning, namely, proxy, representative of messenger. One should have then least expected the indiscriminate use of these terms in one and the same inscription (no.24.10 & 24.12 ; 72. 1 & 72, 12). If this confusion is due to carelessness, this should be surprising in official charters, where meticulous care has been taken about the gradation of officers. If the use of the terms has been deliberately made to distinguish the two sets of officers, they must be deemed to hold allied or similar, but not identical functions. At the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to be more precise about these designations.
122. The word *vadva*, as said before, signifies group of servants or army. It is difficult to bring the latter idea in connexion with *vadva rarai*, but it may mean youthful servants. I should however prefer to see *vadva rarai* as the fuller form of *vĕrĕḥ*. Thus *tuhan vadva rarai* may be the same as *tuha vĕrĕḥ*. Cf Stuttereein in *TBG*, 74, p. 292, f.n 1. See in this connexion, *supra* p. 62 f.n. 36 It is not impossible that the status of the *vadvai rarai-s* depended upon whom they served and some of them might have held civil function. cf. 61. 6.
123. The writer has employed here the Skt. *sandhi*-rules.
124. A village of this name appears in 1. 26. De Casparis however translates it as: metal workers?
125. Lit. elders of villages i. e. village-councillors. They are always distinguished from the *rāmas*. The multiplicity of the village officials is a very striking feature of Old-Jav. inscriptions.
126. Inspector of irrigation-works. See *TBG* 73 (1933), p. 100; The term corresponds to *panghulu baṅu* and refers to a village-elder charged with the up-keep or new construction of small irrigation-canals
127. Inspector of dams and larger water works. See de Casparis, *op. cit.*, p. 241.
128. The word Manggala reminds one of Śrī Manggala (no.7) and Manggalī (no.9) both of which are villages. It is not clear if a village has been intended here. If we take the word as of Sanskrit origin, the expression *paḍahi manggala* should mean: the auspicious *paḍahi* (drummer).
129. The writer has used the Skt. *Sandhi-rule* here,
130. The functions of this officers are not known. The words literally mean: the chief of Tangah.
131. The person who offers *caru*. The term *caru* is of Skt. origin denoting sacrificial rice offered on the occasion of religious ceremonies. It has been referred to in several Old-Javanese inscriptions.
132. I understand some combination of words in this line in a sense different from de Casparis's.
133. Slip for Kamalagi ? A village Samalagi is however found in no. 70, A. 22.
134. Inspector of husked rice. De Casparis writes (*op. cit.*, 243 f.n. 205) that the term denotes village-elders in charge of provision of rice belonging to the village as a whole.

XVII

THE STONE OF TULANG AIR II (CAṆḌI PĔROT II), 772 ŚAKA.

This fragmentary stone inscription was obtained from Caṇḍi Pĕrot in the Tĕmanggung division of the residency of Kĕdu. In 1819 it was brought to the Resident's house at Magĕlang. In 1890 it was deposited at the Jakarta Museum,[1] where it is numbered D. 80. Impressions of this record are mentioned in *Notulen* 1869, Bijl. N., 1876, Bijl. II no. 21; in *Oudh. Bur.*, they number 119-122, 379.[2] Dr. Brandes states [3] that the stone measures 111 c.m. in height, 62 in breadth, 32 in thickness above, 35 below.

The record has been edited in *OJO* where it bears no. V. Damais has given a fuller transcription in *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 22. The transcription offered by de Casparis in *op. cit.*, p. 231 ff. is fuller than either and is given below. As there is hardly any difference between these two records, no traslation of the present record is given here.

TEXT

1. śrī
2. śvasti śakavarṣātīta
3. 7724 āṣāḍamāsa[5] tithi dvitīyā
4. suklapakṣa[6] tu. pa. ā. vāra hana ryy = umaḥnya ta-
5. tkāla rakai patapān pu manukū manusuk sīma i tulang air. pa-
6. tu tatkāla rakai pikatan. patiḥ rakai vka pu puluvatu. sirikan pu sarvva.
7. tiruan pu mahantara. manguhuri pu landuta. halaran pu maddhava palarhyang pu
8. Vairava. vlaḥhan pu tugū. dalinan = pu manū. pangkur = pu agra. tavān = pu mulung. tirip = pu ga-

9. da. lampi pu manglakṣa. vadihati pu manavan. makudur = pu raja. anung mangasĕ i patapā-
10. n milu sikhalān rua pu bhadra. pu tumak. ḍatar = pu arka vadvā rakarayān = mapatiḥ milu
11. sang ḍakalang. i sirikan sang garavuy. i tiruan sang talaga. i manguhuri sang katu-
12. ḍaing. i halaran sang jīvaṇa. i palarhyang sang ḍamiliḥhan. i vlaḥhan sang ḍakukap. i dali-
13. nan sang hrĕtan i pangkur sang ḍakampak. i tavān sang ḍavamlar. i tirip sang
14. kamalagyan. i lampi sang damalung. vahuta makudur sang katuvuḥhan sang ḍaragang vadvā raka-
15. rayān patapān tatkāla taṇḍa si maṇḍi tuhān = ning kanayakān rua si gandha si da-
16. mo. parvvuvus si mangdana. tuhān = ning vadvā rarai si śrīdhara. tuhān, = ning kalula si jaha. tuhān = ning ma-
17. ṇapal si uliḥhan. patiḥ vanua kayumvungan si jāntan mantyāsiḥ si jakkhāra parvuvus-
18. nya punta pramāna si gaṇḍaḥ punta sḍang si murana lvapaṇḍak si mandiha vahuta pati-
19. r si hayu. jurunya si saisa, rāmanya si rutung. paṇḍakyan si sanā. jurunya si maring
20. kalima si nihān. i tulang air juru limus si balubu rāma si tāravana
21. ... ...

FOOTNOTES

1. *Notulen*, 1893, pp 11 ff., 52; Verbeek, *Oudheden*, p. 137.
2. For further literature, see Verbeek, *op. cit.*, references therein; *Rapp.* 1903, pp. 8 ff., and 1907 pp. 1 ff., 1911 p. 273; *OJO* p. 6; Damais in *TBG* 83 (1949) p. 18ff.
3. *Notulen* 28 (1890) p 52
4. Brandes read the year 774. It was corrected as 775 by Krom in *Geschiedenis*, p 156. Damais finally read the year as 772 Śaka in *TBG* 83 p. 18.
5. Read : āṣāḍha
6. Read : śukla°

XVIII

THE STONE OF VAYUKU (DIENG), 776 SAKA.

This stone, under no. D. 10, is preserved in the Jakarta Museum. It measures 36x25 c. m. The record has been transcribed in *KO* where it bears no. XXV. A facsimile of this record has been published in *OJO* (M. 3). The Śaka year in the record was previously read[1] as 779. Damais[2] reads the year as 776. According to him, the exact date corresponds to 16th March, 854 A. D.

TEXT

1. svāsti[3] śakavarṣātīta 776
2. caitramāsa tithi caturdaśi[4] śuklapa
3. kṣa vurukung pahing śukravāra tatkāla
4. rakai sisairā pu virājā manusuk
5. savaḥ i vayuku sīmā ni bihā
6. ra[5] nira i abhayananda.

TRANSLATION

1. Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 776
2. the month of Caitra, fourteenth day of the bright half
3. of the month, *vurukung*[6] , *pahing*[7] , Friday. At that time,
4. the *raka* of Sisaira (viz) *pu* Virājā marked out
5. *savaḥ*-fields at Vayuku as free-holds for his
6. *vihāra* at Abhayananda.

FOOTNOTES

1. *TBG* 18 (1871) p. 108; *KO* XXV.
2. *BEFEO* 45 (1951) p. 30.
3. Read : svasti
4. Read : °śī
5. Read : vihāra
6. A Mal-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
7. A Mal-Polynesian day of the five-day week.

XIX

THE STONE OF ŚIVAGĚRHA, 778 ŚAKA

This stone inscription is preserved in the Museum of Jakarta under no. D. 28; the estampage bears no. 481. It is written partly in Old-Javanese and partly in Sanskrit verses. The inscription has not yet been properly edited. Damais has pointed out [1] that the metre used in the Sanskrit verses is *Pṛthvī* and that in the Old-Javanese verses *Pṛthvītala*. The date given here is in *candra sĕngkala* i.e. in chronogram, which runs as *vualung gunung sang viku*. It is the oldest use of *candra sĕngkala* in an inscription written in Old-Javanese. Brandes read the date in the *Catal.*, 382, as 778 Saka. According to Damais, the date of the record corresponds to 12th Nov., 856 A. D. The following portion of the text has has been published by Damais in *BEFEO*, 47 (1955) p. 24.

The text is obscure in some places and the translation is to be treated as provisional.

TEXT

(38). ri kāla nikanang saka (39) bda vualung gunung sang
viku. sa[ṣ] marggaśira śuklapakṣa savĕlas yanābā tithi.
vṛhaspati vagai lavan sa (40) vurukung yanang vāra veḥ
yatekan atĕ[v]ĕk bhaṭāra ginavai sinang māra veḥ
huvus nikana tang śivā(41)laya samāpta divyottama.
luah yang inaliḥhakĕn apa ni yāniṭik palmahan.
tatan hana kasa (42)ndiheng hala huvus vidānan kabaiḥ
sinīma ya dudhang hamet trima harang humā sang hiyang
alīḥ tampaḥ taikaing (43) huma tumama rīkeng śivagṛha.
susuk sa[ṣ]m[a]gat v[ā]nti[k] s[ā]ha nayaka lāvan sang ng apatiḥ
patiḥ ma[ra]n (44) si kling kalima nira māran ra si mlasi
[ma]gang [ba]ng gusting te si [ja]na ra si kaṇḍat ra si anab
si banyāgang vinka(45)s [va]hu[ta] varaṇī yātahi vukul
laḍuḥ si gnö yekā pinaka parujar sy akṣara vaneḥ
ka (46) buḥmā sang marsī [ra]ma ngaran rāma maratā
yatekāveḥ sīma saha matahun āran ra si kavit (47)

TRANSLATION

During the time of the Śaka (39) year 877, (in the) month of Mārgaśira, on the 11th[3] day of the bright half of the month, that is the tithi, Thursday, *vagai*[4] and (40) *vurukung*[5]. That is the day also (when) this abode (?) of the Bhaṭāra was given (by) Si Nang. Then was also fully completed(the work) of Śiva's temple : (it became) heavenly and beautiful. The stream which was diverted because of the ground-region (?)[6] . There is no doubt (42); evil words shun (?) all. That (region) was marked out into a free-hold, contributing (?) *hamat* three *ma*[7] , for Hara, the house of divinities mesuring 2 *tampahs*. Now to (43) the house (called) Śivagṛha (people) can enter. (This has been) marked out by *samgat* Vantil together with *nayaka* and *sang apatih*, the *patih* of Maran (44) (named) *si* Kling, the *kalima* of him (from) Maran (and ?) *ra(ng)*[8] *si* Mlasi. Three persons from Bang (namely ?) *gusti* of Te (named) *si* Jana, the *ra(ng) si* Kandat, the *ra(ng) si* Anab, *si* Banyagang. The *vinkas* (45), the *vahuta*, the varani[9] then also [10] vukul, the laduh named *si* Gno; hereupon followed those who were the *parujar*[11] (viz) *si* Akṣara[12].....*sang* Marsi, *si* Ramaka called *rama marata*. Now then also the free-hold.....by the *matahun*[13] call. d *ra(ng) si* Kavit.....

FOOTNOTES

1. *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 31 f. n.
2. This seems to be the remnant of māsa.
3. Savĕlas : sa (= 1) + vĕlas (= 10) i.e .11th.
4. Fifth day of the 5-day week.
5. A day of the six-day week.
6. The significance of the line is rather obscure, unless one imagines that the course of a rivulet or canal thereof was diverted to facilitate construction of or access to the temple of Śiva.
7. The use of the word *hamĕt*, which I believe is here the same as *hamat*, occurring in inscr. no. 14, etc. indicates that some kind of unit in weight has been intended.
8. The use of *ra* before several names seemes to indicate that this is a shortened title of *rang*, which, I believe, corresponds to *ḍang*, a well-known spiritual title. If this view be correct, it would appear that persons of less exalted rank holding the honorific *si* could also assume the spiritual title *ra(ng)* or *ḍang*.
9. This appears to be the shorter form of *vatu varani* which we meet with in othe inscriptions. Regarding this word, see infra, note under no. 52. A. 12.
10. I understand this as *yata* + Skt. *hi*.
11. Regarding this word, see no. 16, note 121.
12. The writer has used the Skt. sandhi-rule here.
13. *Tahun* ordinarily means : year, but this interpretation does not yield any sense here. *Matuhan* may be a sensible alternative, as cognate titles *matuha* and *atuha* occur in some Old-Javanese charters. If this view be correct it would provide another example of the slip-shod manner by which this inscription has been drawn up. I assume that there is no error in the transcription of Damais.

XXI[1]

COPPER-PLATE OF BULAI (GUNUNG MURYA), 782 ŚAKA

This inscription is extremely fragmentary. The legible portion of this record has been transcribed dy Damais in *BEFEO* 47 (1955) pp. 24-25. The record was issued in 782 Śaka, the exact date, according to him, being 27th March 860 A. D. It seems to refer to a rakarayān mapatiḥ who was cremated at Bulai ; it also refers to some other officers of the time who were connected with the event. A photo of the record is preserved in the Jakarta Museum under OD 11859.

TEXT

1. .....lor. mas kā 2 su 7 mā 8 pirak
   mā 1 kinmit rāmanta i air ha
2. .....śi śuklapakṣa vu. po. so. tat-
   kāla muvaḥ pinakakuannakan sang
3. .....rap misanna ikanang mas. ujar
   rakarayān mapatiḥ i vka. kinon
   raka-
4. .....rayān mapatiḥ sang lumāḥ lumāḥ ing bulai.
   tan molaha tātaḥ kinmit rāma
5. 782 vaiśākhamāsa. dvitīya śuklapakṣa.
   pa. ka. bu. tatkāla mu
6. .....luy mojar ḍapuntānggada.
   maharap misanna ikanang mas ataḥ
7. .....lah ulahan tātaḥ sadān rakarayān
   mapatiḥ sang rumuhun.
8. .....vkas rakarayān sang matuha.
   inalahakan ḍapuntānggda. na
9. .....kaing śuddhapātra ing tāmraśa-
   sana. sākṣi sang mamuat ujar
10. .....likhita halang manuk dharmmasinta

FOOTNOTE

1. In the original MS of this volume, no. XX was entitled : The stone inscription of Ratu Baka, 778 (?) Śaka, but after the earlier portion of this work was printed it was found, according to the latest view, that the inscription is really to be dated in 714 Śaka i.e. 792 A. D. Since the elimination of number XX would have involved the recasting of the succeeding serial numbers and the whole range of index, we have retained the serial number in tact. The inscription has however been inserted at the right place, in an earlier portion of the text, under a supplementary numbering.

XXII

COPPER-PLATES OF KAÑCANA (BUNGUR A : GĔḌANGAN A), 782 ŚAKA

These copper plates, 14 in number, were discovered from the Gĕḍangan river in the neighbourhood of the *desa* of the self-same name in the Sidɜ-arya division of the residency of Surabaya. [1] Prof. Kern was of opinion[2] that the inscription was originally incised on fourteen plates, of which pls. 7 and 13 are lost. Excepting the *recto* of pl. 1, all others are incised on both the faces. On each side, there are six lines of writing ; only the last plate ends in the fifth line. The plates measure 38. 7 c.m. in length and 12 c.m. in breadth[3]. They were purchased by Mr. van Lansberge from Surabaya[4] and were presented by him in 1884 to the Leiden Ethn. Mus., where they are preserved under ser. no. 401/22.[5]

A facsimile and a transcription of this inscription were published by Holle in 1880.[6] In the following year, Prof. Kern published a revised transcription, along with a translation and some explanatory notes.[7] The inscription preserves two records of 732 and 1295 Śaka. As they appear to be engraved in the same script, the record of 782 Śaka is evidently a later copy of the original document. The date of 782 Śaka for this charter is however doubted by Prof. Krom[8] who thinks that the year was wrongly stated by the copyist of 1295 Śaka and that the correct date sooul be 872. The publication of an inscription belonging to the time of Raka Lokapāla, probably dated in 802 Śakɜ,[9] appears to confirm the date of the Gĕḍangan inscription which also refers to king Lokapāla. According to Damais,[10] he possibly ruled from 778 Śaka, certainly from 785 Śaka to at least 804 Śaka. In the present edition of the Gĕḍangan inscription, I have retained only the record of 782 Śaka, as the other one falls outside the scope of the present volume. According to Dɜm is[11] the date of this inscription corresponds to 31st October, 820 A.D.

The inscription records the command of H.M. Śrī Bhuvaneśvara Viṣṇusakalātmaka Digvijaya Parākramɜt(t)uṅgadeva, bearing the

name of Lokapāla, in respect of the foundation of a freehold for the Rev. gentleman of Bodhimimba. For that purpose, lands were purchased at Bungur and Asana and these formed a hereditary freehold for the gentleman and his children. In recognition of the favour of the king, this person, a Buddhist Kṣatriya, was expected to pray for the stability of the king's authority. Thereafter mention has been made of the foundation of a temple with a Buddhistic image and, after the consecration-ceremony was over, that freehold obtained the title of Kañcana.

TEXT

Pl. 1. B.

1. svasti śakavarṣatita[12] 732, kārttikamāsa, tīthi trayodaśi, [13] śukla-pakṣa, ma. po. vṛ. vāra, landĕp, agne [14]
2. yastha grahacāra, aśvīṇi [15] nakṣatra, aśvī devata, bāyabyāmaṇḍala vyātipātiyoga, [16] somyamuhūrtta, [17] taithi-[18]
3. lakaraṇa, brahmā parveśa, irika divaśanyājñā śrī mahārāja[19] śrī bhūvaṇeśvar, [20] viṣṇusakālātmaka digvijaya [21] para-
4. kramottunggadeva [22] lokapalalañcana, tinadaḥ [23] de rakryan. mahāmantrī [24] katrīṇī, i hino, i sirikan, i halu
5. umingsor i taṇḍa rakryan ri pakirakiran. makabehan, makamukya rakrya(n) kanuruhan. pu dharmmaśakti, i ping
6. sornyājñā śrī mahārāja kumonakĕn. i sira pāduka mpungku i bodhi-mimba, padamlakna sang hyang ājñā haji

Pl. 11, A.

1. praśāsti [25] tinaṇḍa lokapāla pagĕḥ pagĕḥ kmitana nira, anusuka dharmmasima lpas, lmaḥ uliḥ nira pāduka mpungku i bo-
2. ddhimimba [26] amaruk, mā. kā. 7, su. 12, ma 10, i paravargga i [27] bungur kidul, pratyeka paravargga dumol,
3. lmahnya, atuha ring vusvan, bañak, trang, pamajātuha bañak. kañc-ing, pamajānvam, sang intip, kabayan.
4. umbil ananggung, vinkas (s)ang kvek, makādi buyut. manggalī kaki hadyan. lalavun. samangkana kveḥ nikanang paravargga

5. dumval, lmahnya. lukat ni savahnya, timpaḥ[28] 20, tkeng kubvan. pomahan. salbak vuki(r)nya kabeḥ. muvaḥ hana ta
6. lmaḥ nikang kuryyak, lambvān. lor ing asana ngaranya, tinĕkĕn ira pāduka mpungku ri mā. kā. 2, mā 10. lukat ni

Pl. II, B.

1. savahnya. tĕmpaḥ, 2, jĕng, 1, tke kubvan. pomahanya, ika ta kāliḥ, thāni vatĕk atagan. ganting, gavai ku 2, a
2. tagan ing vahūta rāma paligjvan (?). yata susukĕn. dharmmasīma lpas. de nira pāduka mpungku i bodhimimba[29], sīma
3. kalilirana ni vka nira, ngaran i vka nira dyaḥ imbangi, dyaḥ anārgha, sambandha, sira pādnka mpungku ing boddhimimba maha[30]-
4. puruṣa kṣatriyakula boddhalakṣaṇa[31] prasiddha vairocanātmaka guru pangajyan. nira pāduka śri mahārā-
5. ja sira, sira ta asārabhāra i rakryan. kanu(ru)han. mpu dharmma-śakti humatura i lbū ni pāduka śrī mahārāja, ang
6. hyanga ri t(u)r(u)na ning vāra[32] sanmatānugraha pād(u)ka śri mahārāja i sira pāduka mpungku anusuka dharmmasīma[33] lpas.

PL. III, A.

1. irikang i bungur. lor. mvang ikang ingabiyogakĕn. yan. sira pāduka mpungku i boddhimimba sārisaryyākāya
2. kāya makarahina ng vngi, ayoga amūjā asamādhi ajapā mrārthanakĕn' ri kajayaśatrvān. śrī mahārāja,
3. mvang sthiratarā ni palinggiḥ pāduka śrī[34] mahārāja ring ratna-singhāsana tankagan. tyan. ekacatra[35] makadṛvya ike
4. ng aṇḍabhūvana[36], nguninguni kadīrghayuṣān sang nātha. sira pāduka mpungku i boddhimimba sākṣāt. kāraṇa ning hajöng
5. śrī mahārāja an aikacchātra, pāduka śrī mahārāja pva sira prabhu mahāviśeṣa sakalajagat. pālaka, sā-
6. kṣāt. trīvikrama[37] sumuluh i bhuvana, tan. vnang tan malĕs ring suṣṭuśakti[38] sārisāryyākāyakāya makarahina ng vngi maka-

Pl. III, B.

1. sādhana ng yogāmrārthanakĕn. ri hajönga nira, yata matanyan. [39] tumurun. tanpahambal. vāra [40] sanmatānugraha pādu

2. ka śrī mahārāja, i sira pāduka mpungku i boddhimimba an. panusuk dharmmasīma lpas. irikang i bungur.
3. lor. mvang ikang ing asana, tanĕmana vungkal. aṣṭadeśanya, makadon. pangadĕgana sang hyang prasāda,[41] sthāna ni
4. ra sang hyang arcca [42] boddha [43] prativimba nira, pūjan angkĕn. kārttikamāsa, mvang sthānā[44] ni vka nira kāliḥ, vka nirātuha, ja
5. lujalu, mangaran. dyaḥ imbangi, vka nira vungśu vadvan. mang ran dyaḥ anārgha, dyaḥ imbangi, mvang dyaḥ anārgha a
6. ta pramaṇa i sang hyang dharmmasīma, tlas. labdhāpagĕḥ ta sang hyang dharmmaprasāda[45] sakrama ning devopaka'a, pasāng

Pl. IV. A

1. jñān. sang hyang dharmmasīma ring kañcana, sogata sang asthāpakā i sang hyang dharmma, pañaturdeśa ning lmaḥ sang hyang dharmmasīma ing kañca
2. na, mvang kĕṇḍĕng sĕngkĕrnya, pangidul. nya vetan. sangkeng eśānya, lāmban. lor. asiḍaktan lāvan. lmaḥ talan.
3. muvah asiḍaktan. lāvan. lmaḥ kakatang, agneya[46] asiḍaktan. lāvan lmaḥ kuryyak; pangulvanya kidul.[47] sangkeng a [48]
4. gneya, asiḍaktan. lāvan. lmaḥ hujung ing ĕ'uk; muvaḥ asiḍaktan. lāvan. lmaḥ bungur. kidul. manĕngah i
5. lmaḥ ing gayanti, angetan.[49] sakeng gayanti anuju ing kasucen. angulvan. sakeng kasucen. anuju savaḥ i(ng)
6. kamuka, angulvan. sakeng kamuka, asuḍapötan.[50] lavan. gĕsang, nairiti, asiḍaktan. lāvan. lmaḥ jĕlag.

Pl. IV, B.

1. pingalornya sangkeng nairiti, asiḍaktan. lāvan. jĕlag. kāli satngaḥ sovang bāyabya, asiḍaktan. lāvan.
2. lmaḥ talan; muvaḥ hĭnginya lor mangavetan. sangngking [51] bāyabya, asiḍaktan. lāvan. lmaḥ. maṇḍala talan.
3. angavetan. aniku lalavā apinggir. lmaḥ anuju vatĕs. bacucu, eśānya, asiḍaktan. lāvan. lmaḥ.
4. talan. mvang lmaḥ kakatang, samangkana pañaturdeśa ni lmaḥ sang hyang dharmmasima ing kañcana, kavibhajyan ikang savaḥ, mapra

5. yoga i bhṭāra, tĕmpaḥ, 2, ing asana unggvan.[51a] la angśa bhaṭārī, jöng 2,ki, 1, bayai, jöng, 5, mapaknā mpu stha
6. paka, tĕmpaḥ, 2, ing gayanti unggvanya, mpu brahmā ta sthāpaka, mpu hasthavīra, jöng, 1, pamubur. paragi, jöng,

Pl. V. A.

1. 1, mring parivāra, jöng 2, gavai ning parivāra kinonkon adoh aparĕk. höb ning bapra, jöng, 2, kaputrāngśa
2. n. tĕmpaḥ, 20 dyaḥ himbangi, mvang dyaḥ anārgha pramāṇa ikā, tka i santāna pratisatānā[52] nikā, tka [53] mne hlĕm.
3. ring dlāha ning dlāha. hana ta pirak. mā 5, sangngkeng [54] panatakan. madulur. sayub. sapikul pada, mijilāngkĕn.
4. kapūjān, ring kārttikamāsa, muvaḥ hana ta pirak. mā 6, sangngkeng paśucyan. mvang bañ(u) ring kumbha asaha(b) banantĕ
5. n. mijilangkĕn. pūrṇnama[55] ning aṣaḍha, [56] dumunung ing samasanak. pamūjā ri sang hyang dharmma paknanya, muvaḥ anugra
6. ha pāduka śrī mahārāja i savka nira pāduka mpungku i boddhimimba, vnang akolahulahana i sang hyang dharmma,

Pl. V. B.

1. vnang apayunga putiḥ, acuringa [57] rahina vngi, gilanggilanga gaḍing, pras vatang, prās. sidhayuga, prās anggī, pasiliḥ galuḥ, jnu
2. kanaka, skar bvathino, vali [58] nāgapuspa,[59] navagrāha,[60] kĕmbang ĕpung, ityevamādi, svatantra ta sang hyang, dharmma tke sa
3. masānak; tan katamana de ni vinava sang mānakatriṇī, [61] pangkur, tavan, tirip, pinghe vahuta rāma, nāya
4. kapratyāya, nguninguni de sang anāgata prabhu tke sakveḥ samangilala dṛvyahaji, vuluvulu paravulu prakā
5. rāgöng aḍmit. ring dangu, makādi miśra paramiśra pangura(ng), kring, paḍĕm, manimpiki, paranakan, limus galuḥ,
6. malandang, lca, lablab, kutak, tangkil, tṛpan, sunkun, halu varak, rakāsang, ramanang, pininglai,

Pl. VI, A.

1. katanggaran, taji, vatu tajĕm, sungging, 'pangunĕngan, tanghiran, er haji, manguri, tirvan, maniga, pamaṇikan,
2. miśra h(i)no, miśrānginangin, sikpan, rumban, tutan, salyut, vatu valang, vijikavaḥ, vilang vanva, ā
3. vī, avur, kyab, sṛkan, karĕrĕngan, sinagihā, pangaruhan, skar tahun, vli pañjut, haṛng, vli hapū, vli
4. tambang, vli vadung, sipat vilut, panggare, pavlangvlang, pabĕ ar, pabiñjatan, pagulung, pulung paḍi, sungsung pa
5. ng(u)rang, pāmavāṣya, pajukung, pavungkunung, pakalangkang, pakalingking, vidu mangidung, hopan, panrangan, parang, sungka, dhū
6. ra, mangr(u)bai mangguñjai, juru jalir, juru juḍi, juru gosali, juru huñjĕman, juru cina, juru barata, juru

Pl. VI, B.

1. rahaṣva, tuha dagang, tuhanāmbi, pakarapa, kḍi, valyan, sambal sumbul, hulun haji, singgaḥ, pabṛsi, pujut.[61a]
2. jĕnggī, watĕk ī jro, ityaivamādi kabeḥ, tan tama ataḥ i sang hyang dharmma, kevala sang hyang dharmma pramāṇa i sa
3. dṛvyahajinya kabeḥ. mangkana tekang sukaduḥka kadyanggā ning mayang tan. pavvaḥ, valuḥ rumambat ing natar, vi
4. pati, vangkai kābunan, raḥ kasavur ing natar, kaḍal māti ring havan, sahasa, dūhilatĕn. idu kasira
5. t. vākcapala, hastacapala, mijilākĕn. vuri ning kikir, mamūk, mimungpang. lūdan, tutan, tĕṇḍas ning
6. mās. daṇḍa kudaṇḍa, angśa pratyangśa, maṇḍihalādi. sang hyang dharmma lāvan. samasānak pramāṇa i sadṛvya

Pl. VII LACKING.

Pl. VIII, A.

1. ngśa,[62] kavat, apaṇḍai singyas ngyan. uṇḍahagi ḍaḍap, sagusali sovang sovang, amanantĕn. asāmsam. a

2. kata, avalija, anglakṣa, rva siki sovang kaihanya, yāpvan. lvih sangkerikā, pupvana ya dṛvyahaji de sang makĕ
3. kran. ya, muvaḥ anugraha pāduka śrī[63] mahārāja i samasānak. vnang amangana salvir ning rājamāngsa, baḍavang, baṇing, vḍu
4. s. gunting, asu tugĕl. karung puliḥ, aguntinga ring balai, asumpinga tuñjung sinivak. anusuna palangka binubut.
5. bale inān(tu)n. ahuluna pujut. boṇḍan. hañjamaha kavula amupuha kavula angguntinga hulun minggat. vna
6. ng amupuha ngrahana kavula yan. saha dosa, ungsiṛn ing hulun minggat. vnang ungsirĕn ing istrī larangan. nda tan uliḥ

PL. VIII, B.

1. nya nginggatakĕn. mvang tanpakastrinya ungsiren ing[64] maling tlĕs. anghuvākna mvang tinalyan. yan. kahaḍang humalivat. ring deśa sa
2. masānak. vnang manghalangana burvan. angluputaknāmuk, yan tan. katūt. de ning aburu, ungsirĕn ing ahutang rangang, katmu ta
3. tatalĕn. mā, i, ing satahil. angkĕn. tahun. samangkana raṣanyanugraha pāduka śrī mahārāja, i sira pāduka mpu
4. ngku i boddhimimba, an. panusuk.[65] dharmmasima lpas. irikang i bungur. lor. mangaran[66] ring asana, ngaran. sang hyang dharmmasī
5. ma ing kañcana, irikang kāla, masung ta sira pāduka mpungku i boddhimimba pasĕk. pagĕḥ; mā su 5, i pāduka śrī mahārā
6. ja, mvang i rākryan. mahāmantri katrini, i rakryan. mantri hino, ingnaturan.[67] pasĕk pagĕḥ, mā sū l, i rakryan. mantri si

Pl. IX, A.

1. rikan. inaturan. pasĕk pagĕḥ mā sū l, i rakryan mantri halu, inaturan. pasĕk. pagĕḥ, ma sū l. nguniveḥ i taṇḍa ra
2. kryan. ring pakirakiran. samāmingkingakĕn. cangcangan. sinūngan. pasĕk pagĕḥ mā 5 sovang sovang, rakryan. kanurūha

3. n. sinūngan. wḍihan. sahlai, pirak. mā 5, rakryan. juru tambar. sinūngan. pasĕk pagĕḥ, mā 5, samgat. tirvan. sinū
4. ngan. pasĕk pagĕḥ, mā 5. samgat. lekan sinūngan. pasĕk pagĕḥ, mā 5, samgat. langka sinūngan. pasĕk pagĕḥ, mā
5. 4, pinghay avajuḥ sapañcataṇḍa ya sinung(an). vḍihan. sahlai sovang sovang, pirak. mā 3, muvaḥ ramā pinggir siring
6. sākṣibhūta[68] hinanakĕn.[69] ring susuk. paḍa sinūngan. pasĕk pagĕḥ, i talan. buyut. hudan. mrang, b(i)niring ning vinkas.

Pl. IX, B.

1. si cangcangan. sinūngan. pasĕk. mā l ku l vḍihan. sahlai, i kuryyak. buyut. karvadāna, vinkas. si tulung pgā
2. i vagai buyut. sangugangan. vinkas. si cangkir. i gĕsang buyut. kārvabañu, vinkas. si sĕgā lalab.
3. i pacĕkan. buyut. kbo miraḥ, vinkas. si pasir. mangaran. buyut dānahutang, vinkas. si taliduk.
4. i vurungkud. buyut. kbo lalampin. vinkas. si kulak. tamuy. i. kulupvan. buyut. ranggaḥ vagas.
5. vinkas. si talun. i ganting buyut. kbo caṇḍi, vinkas. si vaḥ tvak. i pamasangan. buyut. ranggaḥ paki
6. s vinkas. si irus. i vḍi buyut. kbo nāga, vinkas. si caluvak. i camuṇḍa buyut. cangke, vinkas.

Pl. X, A.

1. si dānaharṣa, samangkana kveḥ nikang pinggir siring hinanakĕn. paḍa sinūngan. pasĕk. mā, l, ku, l, sovang so
2. vang mvang vḍihan. sa'hleḥ[70] ri sāmpun ing asūng pasĕk. pagĕḥ, lumĕkas ta samĕgĕt. vadihati ring vitāna, anĕtĕk. gulū
3. ni hayām. pinapasakĕnya ri(ng) catus[71]. patha, amantingakĕn. hantiga, angañjali ri bhaṭāra, indaḥ ta kita bha
4. ṭāra śrī[72] haricandāna[73], agaṣṭhya[74] mahārṣi[75], pūrvva dakṣiṇa paścimottara maddhya[76] urddham ādhaḥ[77] ravi śaśi[78] kṣiti ja
5. la pavanā[79] hutāsana, yajamānākāśa dharmma, ahorātri[80], saddhyādvaya[81], yakṣa rākṣasa piśāca, pretāsūras2 ga

6. ruḍa gandarvva[83] graha kinnara mahoraja[84] catvāri lokapāla, yama baruṇa kuvaira[85] bāśava[86] mvang putra deva

Pl. X, B.

1. tā, pañca kuśikā[87] nandiśvara[88] mahākāla, ṣadvināya[89] nāgarāja, dūrggadevī[90] caturaśra, ananta surendra[91] hyang kāla mṛtyu gaṇa
2. bhūta, kita prasiddha sakāla[92] sāśibhūta[93] tumon ang adoh aparĕ ring rahinengkulĕm. kita milu manarīra, umasuk ing
3. sarvvajanma, at. rĕngvökĕn iking samaya sapatha[94] sumpaḥ pamangmang mamī ri kita kamung hyang kabaiḥ[95] irikang vvang mahala buddhinya
4. umulahulaḥ kasvatantran sang hyang dharmmasīma ring kañcana, tke rikang sakapramāṇa de nira, yan. brahmāṇa[96] kṣatrīya[97]
5. vaiśya kṣudra, caṇḍala[98], nāyaka pratyāya, mvang pinghe vahuta rāma, sajanmanya, saveśyanya[99], yāvat ya umulahulaḥ
6. kasvatantrān. sang hyang dharmmasīma,[100] tke rikang sakapramāṇa de nira, mvang ikāng sakolahulahan i vka vet nira

Pl. XI, A

1. pāduka, mpungku i boddhimīmba, patyananta ya kamung hyang, deyan. ta t patī ya, tā tan panoliha ri vuntat. ta
2. ttinghala ing likuran. tarung ring kivan, uvahi ring tĕngĕnan, tampyal. ring pangadigan[101] , tutuḥ tuṇḍuḥnya, bĕ[102]
3. laḥ kapālanya, cucup. u'tĕk. nya[103] , carikakĕn. vtĕngnya rantan. usus.nya, vĕtvakĕn. ḍalĕmanya, ḍuḍuk, ha
4. tinya, inum. rāḥnya, tĕhĕr pĕpĕḍakĕn. vĕkasakĕn vehi prāṇāntika, yan. pāra ya ring alas. patu
5. kĕn ing ulā mandi, panganĕn ing mong. yan para ya ring tĕgal. sambĕrĕn ing glap. sĕmpalĕn de ning rākṣasa, yan. panghe
6. r ing umaḥ katibana bajrāgni tan. pavarṣa, liputĕn gsĕngāna de sang hyang agni, vehĕn. bhaṣmibhūtā[104] saha dṛvya

Pl, XI, B.

1. nya, tan. panoliha ri vuntat. bvĕngakĕn ring mahārorava, yan para ring vai sahutĕn de ni vuhaya,
2. mumul. tuviran. timinggila, mahāgila, yan. sĕngka ring havan mavĕḥ kapagute luñcip ning paras. tu
3. murun. kaduhunga, kajungkĕla pĕpĕsa tikĕl. rĕmpuha, ring ratā kasopa vulanguna. halingĕngöna, ngkānan mā
4. tya ikang vvang anyāyapravṛtti umulahulaḥ kasvatanṭran. sang hyang dharmmasīma ring kañcana, tĕkerikang sakapramaṇa[105]
5. de sang hyang dharmma, i vruhan ira kabaiḥ[106] prayatnā ॥o॥ yāvat pratiṣṭhate bhūmo, mahāmeruḥ supa
6. rvvataḥ, tāvat kilvīṣabhuktiḥ syad[107] rājānugrahalangghanat. ॥ yo rājānugraham hatvā, mohād murko[108]

Pl. XII, A.

1. naro hi saḥ, pṛāpṛakulaiḥ sarvai[109] rṛoravam hātu sarvvadā ॥ yadi syād manuṣibhūtaḥ, klavaḥ[110] pangguḥ
2. daridrakaḥ, vādhiraś ca kuniḥ kuṣṭho, pasmāro bāmanas tathā[111] ॥-॥

TRANSLATION.

Pl. I, B.

1. Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 782, the month of Kārttika, thirteenth day of the bright half of the month, *mavulu*[1], *pon* [2], thursday, *landĕp*[3] ,

2. the position of the planet was in the south-east, (while) the lunar mansion Aśvinī (stood under) the deity Aśvi in the zone of Vāyu, (during) the conjunction of Vyatīpāta, the *muhūrtta* of Soma, the
3. *Karaṇa* Taitila, with the lord of the orb as Brahmā. On this day (was issued) the command of the illustrious great king Śrī Bhuvaneśvara Viṣṇusakalā'maka Digvijaya
4. Parākramot(t)unggadeva, bearing the name of Lokapāla[4] . (This was) received by the three *rakryan mahāmantrī*-s (viz.) (the *rakryan mahāmantrī*) of Hino, (the *rakryan mahāmantrī*) of Sirikan, (the *rakryan mahāmantrī*) of Halu, and
5. communicated to all the *taṇḍa rakryan*-s[5] of different departments, to begin with the *rakrya(n)* Kanuru an (viz.) *Pu* Dharmmaśakti,
6. for following the orders of the illustrious great king ordained for the Rev. gentleman at Bo(d)dhimimba (and) to bring into execution the sacred royal command

Pl. II, A.

1. of the edict that has received the ratification(seal) of Lokapāla. They are to protect this rigidly and mark out a free *pĕrdikan desa*[6] . The Rev. gentleman
2. at Bodhimimba (accordingly) obtained lands against the payment of gold 7 *kati* 12 *suvarṇa* (and) 10 *māṣa* to the *paravargga*-s[7] of Bungur South. Each of the *paravargga*-s who sold their lands:
3. the *atuha*[8] of Vusvan[9] (viz.) Bañak trang; the *pamajātuha*[10] (viz.) Bañak Kañcing; the *pamajānvam*[11] (viz.) *sang* Intip; the *Kabayan*[12] (of)
4. Umbil (viz.) Ananggung; the *vinkas* (viz.) *sang* Kvek; above all[13], the chief *buyut* (viz.) *Kaki hadyan* Lalavun. Such is the number of the *paravargga*-s
5. who sold their lands. The measurement of their *savah*-fields is *tĕmpah* 20, including gardens, compounds, low and high places, all ! Moreover, there is

6. the ground of (the village of) Kuryyak, to the northern side of (the place) called Asana. (This) was taken possession of by the Rev. gentleman for gold 2 *kati* 10 *māṣa* The measurement of

Pl. II, B.

1. its *savaḥ*-fields is *tĕmpah 2 jŏng* 1, including gardens (and) compounds. These two places under (the administrative unit of) Ganting, *gavay*[14] 2 *kupang*, stand under the
2. authority of the *vahuta*(s) (and) *rāma*(s)of Paligjvan (?). These then should be marked out into a free *pĕrdikan desa* by the Rev. gentleman at Bodhimimba. The free-hold
3. shall be inherited by his children. The names of his children are *dyah* Imbangi (and) *dyah* Anārgha. The occasion (for the bestowal of the favour is that) the Rev. gentleman at Bod(d)himimba, an
4. august personage, Kṣatriya by descent, Buddhist by profession, generally known to have a soul devoted to Vairocana, is a spiritual teacher (*guru pangajyan*) of H. M. the illustrious great king
5. and that he requisitioned the help of the *rakryan* Kanu(ru)han (viz.) *mpu* Dharmmaśakti for presenting respects to the dust of (the feet of) H. M. the illustrious great king
6. by asking for the grant of a favourable boon of H M. the illustrious great king to the Rev. gentleman (at Bodhimimba) for marking out a free *pĕrdikan desa*

Pl. III, A.

1. at Bungur North; he also intimated orally that the Rev. gentleman at Bod(d)himimba shall do his extreme best and devote his capacity[15],
2. day and night[16], in *yoga*, worship, deep meditation and mumbling (of *mantras*), praying for the subjugation of the enemies of the illustrious great king
3. and the greater stability of the seat of H M. the illustrious great king on the jewelled throne, (so that his) unshared one umbrella[17] may possess

4. this earthball and that above all the king may live long! The Rev. gentleman at Bod(d)himimba is thus, as it were, the source of the well being
5. of the illustrious great king (and) of extending (his) one umbrella (over the whole earth). H. M. the illustrious great king is also an exceptionally great ruler, the protector of the whole earth, verily a
6. Trivikrama[18] in illuminating the world: he can not but pay for the staunch constancy of him who does his extreme best and devotes his capacity day and night

Pl. III, B.

1. for his (i.e., the king's) well-being by exercising *yoga*, That is the reason why H M. the illustrious great king granted irrevocably
2. a favourable boon to the Rev. gentleman at Bod(d)imimba for marking out a free *pĕrdikan desa* at Bungur
3. North and at Asana. (Thereupon), stone(-marks) should be implanted in eight directions with the object of founding a temple which would be a place for the
4. worship of the image of Buddha. This is to be worshipped in each Kārttika. Moreover, there shall be places (destined for) both of his children: his older child is a
5. son named *dyah* Imbangi, his younger child is a girl named *dyah* Anārgha. *Dyah* Imbangi and *dyah* Anārgha
6. shall have the sole authority over the *pĕrdikan desa*. After the confirmation of the region and the temple (*dharmmaprāsāda*) according to the custom of religious ceremonies, shall (this *desa*) be designated

Pl. IV, A.

1. as the "free-hold of Kañcana". A Buddhist shall be the consecratory priest of the temple. The position of the land

of the "free-hold of Kañcana" in respect of four cardinal points

2. and also its extent and circumference, are (as follows): in the south-eastern direction reckoned form the north-east, it borders on the northern side with the lands of Talan

3. and with the lands of Kakatang; in the south-east, it borders with the lands of Kuryyak; in the south-western direction reckoned

4. from the south-east, it borders with the lands of Hujung ing ĕluk and with the lands of Bungur south; it runs in the middle of

5. the lands of Gayanti; eastwards [20] from Gayanti, it goes in the direction of Kasucen. westwards from Kasucen (it goes) in the direction of the *savah-s* of

6. Kamuka, westwards from Kamuka, it borders with Gĕsang; in the south-west, it borders with lands of Jĕlag;

Pl. IV, B.

1. in the northern direction reckoned from the south-west, it borders with Jĕlag (and) the middle of the river wseparates each; in the north-west, it borders weth

2. the lands fo Talan. Further boundaries of it: in the north-eastern direction reckoned from the north-west, it borders with the lands of the *maṇḍala* [21] of Talan;

3. eastwards it makes a bend (?), runs along the ground[22], in the direction of the boundary of Bacucu; in the north-east, it borders with the lands

4. of Talan and the lands of Kakatang. Such is the position of the lands of the "free-hold of Kañcana" in respect of four cardinal points. The *savah*-fields are to be divided

5. (in the following manner): in respect of Bhaṭāra, [23] 2 *tĕmpah-s* lying in Asana; the share of Bhaṭārī [24] is 2 *jöng* 1 *kibil*; plots

of ground ear-marked for temple-service, [25] 5 *jöng-s*; in respect of the consecratory priest,

6. 2 *tĕmpah-s* lying in Gayanti; a Brahmā-priest[26] shall be the consecratory priest, the Rev. Hast(h)avīra ;[27] —1 *jöng*; for the attendants,

PL. V, A.

1. 1 *jöng*; in respect of the followers who are desptached far and near, 2 *jöng-s*; for the shadow (or, protection) of the wall,[28] 2 *jöng-s*. The patrimony for the children

2. is[20] *tĕmpah-s*; *dyah* (H)imbangi and *dyah* Anārgha are the sole authority over them. (These are to be) in the possession of their descendants and further progeny, now and later, up to the

3. remotest future. There are to be brought silver 5 *māṣa* for distribution by one *atak* per head,[28a] along with one *pikul* of *sayub* [29] of the same class (?),

4. on the occasion of the arrival of each religious service in the month of Kārttika; there should also be brought silver 6 *māṣa* for the place of purificatory rites with the water of the jug (and) for the wrapping (?) *banantĕn*,[30]

5. on the occasion of each full moon in (the month of) Āṣāḍha. (These are) to be furnished by the community for the religious ceremonies of the foundation. Moreover, the favour of

6. H. M. the illustrious great king to the descendants of the Rev. gentleman at Bod(d)imimba (is such that) they may dispose of and handle the foundation,

Pl. V, B.

1. they may have white umbrella, they may use foot-bells [31] day and night, shining ivory, [32] *pras watang*, *prās siddhayuga*, *prās anggī*,[33] precious stones, golden paints, and

2. floral products used by the *hino*,[34] (such as), wreaths of serpent-flowers, *navagraha*, *ĕpung*-flowers and so forth. The foundation is

3. free to the community, (but it) may not be trod upon by being brought under the Hon. three (viz.) *pangkur*, *tavan*, *tirip*, (as also) the *pinghe*, *vahuta*, *rāma*, *nāyaka*,

4. *pratyāya*.[35] So also (it may not be trod upon) by the future kings (in the first place) up to all the 'collectors of taxes', all sorts of *vuluvulu*-s, *paravulu*-s,

5. great and small, from earlier times,[36] having at their head *miśra*, *paramiśra*, *pangurang*, *kring*, *paḍĕm*, *manimpiki*, *paranakan*, *limus galuh*,

6. *malandang*, *lca*, *lablab*, *kutak*,[37] *tangkil*, *tĭpan*,[38] *sukun*,[39] *halu varak*, *rakasang*,[37] *ramanang*,[37] *pinginglai*,

Pl. VI, A.

1. *katanggaran*, *taji*, *vatu tajĕm*, *sungging*,[37] *pangunĕngan*,[37] *tanghiran*, *er haji*, *manguri*, *tirvan*, *maniga*, *pamaṇikan*,

2. *miśra hino*, *miśrāṇginangin*, *sikpan*, *rumban*, *tutan*,[40] *salyut*,[41] *vatu valang*, *viji kavah*, *vilang vanva*, *āvĭ*,[42]

3. *avur*,[43] *kyab*,[37] *srkin*,[37] *karĕrĕngan*,[37] *sinagiha*,[37] *pangaruhan*, *skar tahun*,[44] *vli pañjut*, *vli karĕng*, *vli hapu*,

4. *vli tambang*,[45] *vli vadung*, *sipat vilut*, *panggare*,[37] *pavlangvlang*,[37] *pabĕsar*,[46] *pabiñjatan*,[46] *pagulung*,[47] *pulung padi*, *sungsung pangurang*,

5. *pāmavāṣya*,[48] *pajukung*,[49] *pavungkunung*, *pakalangkang*, *pakalingking*, *vidu*, *mangidung*, *hopan*, *panrangan*,[50] *parang*, *sungka*, *dhūra*,

6. *mangr(u)bai*,[51] *mangguñjai*,[52] *juru jalir*, *juru juḍi*, *juru gosali*, *juru huñjĕman*, *juru cina*,[53] *juru barata*[54] *juru*

Pl. VI, B.

1. *rahaṣya*,[55] *tuha dagang*, *tuhanāmbi*,[56] *pakarapa*,[57] *kḍi*, *valyan*, *sambal sumbul*, *hulun haji*,[58] *singgah*,[59] *pabṛsi*,[60] *pujut*,[61]

2. *jĕnggĭ*,[62] *vatĕk i jro*[63] and so forth. All these may not at all tread upon the foundation: the foundation alone is the authority over all of its

3. royal charges, evenso (over) its good and bad events, such as the *arĕca*-blossom that bears no fruit, the pumpkin that creeps along the ground,

4. death, corpse bedewed, blood spilt on the ground, sudden death on the way, rashness, sprinkled spittle that one must swallow,

5. rashness in speech, rashness with hands, uncovering of weapons from behind, *amok*-making, molestation (of women), *lūdan* (?). *tutan* (?),

6. *tĕṇḍas ning mās* (?),[64] all sorts of punishments, even in the smallest proportion[65], for reviling and so forth. The foundation and the community are the (sole) authority over all.

PL. VII. LACKING.

PL. VIII, A.

1. As (regards the articles of) brass (-smiths), wire-makers, metal-casters, *uṇḍahagi*-s,[66] *ḍaḍap*-s:[67] one smith of each class (is free from charges). Dealers of *banantĕn*,[68] *samsam*,

2. *kata*, merchandise, lac: two persons of each class[69] is the limit. If there is more than this number, royal charges may be levied (on them)

3. by *makĕkĕraṇ*-s.[70] Moreover, the favour of H. M. the illustrious great king to the community (is such that) they can eat all sorts of rich meat (*rājamāngsa*) (such as) *baḍavang*,[71] *baṇing*,[72] castrated (?) sheep,

4. castrated dog, male wild boar which may be killed (?) in the hall. They may bear split-up lilies as ear-wreathlet; they may possess couches furnished with bed-covers and pillows

5. (or ?) the hall may be left behind. They may possess slaves (such as) *pujut* (and) *boṇḍan*.[73] They may make the slaves concubines, beat the slaves (and) shave (the head of) the slaves who have run away.
6. They may beat the thieving[74] slaves when caught with guilt. They may find out a refuge for the run-away slaves, they may refer a refuge to the women whose contact is forbidden (*stri larangan*), so that they may not again run away

Pl. VIII, B.

1. and that they may not be married. They may find out a refuge for the novice thieves,[75] release them and (they) may be fettered when, perchance, they pass by the region of the community.
2. They may stop pursuit (and) liberate *amok*-makers when they are not overtaken by porsuers. They may find out a refuge for the insolvent debtors
3. (on condition) that yearly 1 *maṣa* per *tahil* [76] (of the whole debt) should be absolved. Such are the contents of the favour of H. M. the illustrious great king to the
4. Rev. gentleman at Bod(d)himimba in respect of marking out the free *pĕrdikan desa* at Bungur North and at Asana, known as the "free-hold of Kañcana."
5. At this, the Rev. gentleman at Bod(d)himimba offered the fixed sum of gold 5 *suvarṇa* to H. M. the illustrious
6. great king. Also to the three *rakryan mahāmantrī*-s (were given fixed sums) : to the *rakryan mantrī* (of) Hino was given the fixed sum of gold 1 *suvarṇa* ; to the *rakryan mantrī* (of) Sirikan

Pl. IX, A.

1. was given the fixed sum of gold 1 *suvarṇa*; to the *rakryan mantrī* (of) Halu was given the fixed sum of gold 1 *suvarṇa*. Also to the *taṇḍa rakryan*-s

2. of different departments, who were all left behind with the task of executing the plan, were given the fixed sum of 5 *māṣa*, each in particular. The *rakryan* Kanuruhan
3. received one piece of cloth (and) silver 5 *māṣa*. The *rakryān juru* (of) Tambir received the fixed sum of 5 *māṣā*. The *samgat Tirvan*
4. received the fixed sum of 5 *māṣa*. The *samgat* Lekan received the fixed sum of 5 *māṣa*. The *samgat* Langka received the fixed sum of 4 *māṣa*,
5. *pinghay*, the *avaju(ḥ)*, with five officers (*taṇḍa*), received one piece of cloth (and) silver 3 *māṣa*, each in particular.[77] Moreover, the *rāma*-s of neighbouring places who were allowed to be
6. present in the foundation as witnesses similarly received fixed sums. (The *rāma*) of Talan (viz.) the *huyut* Hudan mrang accompanied by the *vinkas*

Pl. IX, B.

1. (viz.) *si* Cangcangan received the fixed sum of 1 *māṣa* 1 *kupang* (and) 1 piece of cloth. (The *rāma*-s) of Kuryyak (viz) the *buyut* Karvadāna (and) the *vinkas* (viz) *Si* Tulung pgā;
2. (the *rāma*-s) of Vagai (viz.) the *buyut* Sangugangan [78] (and) the *vinkas* (viz.) *Si* Cangkir ; (the *rāma*-s) of Gĕsang (viz.) the *buyut* Kārvabañū (and) the *vinkas* (viz.) *Si* Sĕga lalap ;
3. (the *rāma*-s) of Pacĕkan (viz.) the *buyut* Kbo mirah (and) the *vinkas* (viz.) *Si* pasir ; (the *rāma*-s of) Mangaran (?) [79] (viz.) the *buyut* Dāna hutang (and) the *vinkas* (viz.) Si Taliduk ;
4. (the *rāma*-s) of Vurungkud (viz) *buyut* Kbo lalampin (and) *vinkas* (viz.) *Si* Kulaktamuy ; (the *rāma*-s) of Kulupvan (viz.) the *buyut* Ranggah vagas (and)
5. the *vinkas* (viz.) *Si* Talun ; (the *rāma*-s) of Ganting (viz.)the *buyut* Kbo *caṇḍi* [80] (and) the *vinkas* (viz.) *Si* Vah tvak ; (the *rāma*-s) of Pamasangan (viz.) the *buyut* Ranggah pakis

6. (and) the *vinkas* (viz.) *Si* Irus ; (the *rāma*-s) of Vḍi (viz.) the *buyut* Kbo nāga (and) the *vinkas* (viz.) *Si* Caluvak ; (the *rāma*-s,) of Camuṇḍa (viz) *buyut* Cangke (and) the *vinkas*

Pl. X, A.

1. (viz.) *Si* Dānaharṣa. Such is the number of the neighbours who were allowed to be present (and) who were likewise given the fixed sum of 1 *māṣa* 1 *kupang*, each in particular,

2. together with 1 piece of cloth. After the completion of giving away fixed sums, the *samĕgĕt vadihati* made himself ready in the festal tent, separated the neck

3. of the hen which was smashed at the juncture of four roads, crashed the egg, and with joint-palms to the gods (said) : "Be gracious, you all gods !

4. Haricandana (and) Agastya, the great seer(s), east, south, west, north, the middle point, zenith, nether-world, sun, moon, earth, water,

5. wind, fire, the sacrificing host, ether, laws, day and night, the two twi-lights, *yakṣa(s)*, *rākṣasa(s)*, *piśāca(s)*, *preta(s)*, *asura(s)*,

6. Garuḍa, *gandharva(s)*, planets, *kinnara*-s, the Great Serpent, the four guardians of quarters [81] (viz.) Yama, Varuṇa, Kuvera (and) Vāsava, and the sons of deities,

Pl. X, B.

1. the five Kuśika-s, Nandīśvara, Mahākāla, Ṣaḍvināya, the king of serpents, goddess Durgā, caturaśra-s, [82] Ananta, the king of gods, the deities of Time and Death, *gaṇa(s)*,

2. *bhūta(s)*, and you all who are known to be witnesees [83] and who see far and near, by day and by night, you who go to incarnate by penetrating into

3. all beings ! Listen to this utterance of oaths, swearings and curses of mine to you, O all gods, regarding the person of evil disposition who

4. violates the freedom of the "free-hold of Kañcana" and what comes under sway of it, be he a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya,

5. Vaiśya, Śūdra, Caṇḍāla, *nāyaka*, *pratyāya* and *pinghe*, *Vahuta*, *rāma* whatever be his caste, whatever be his function : if that person violates the

6. freedom of the free-hold and what comes under the sway of it and all whereover the descendants

Pl. XI, A.

1. of the Rev gentleman at Bodhimimba have powers of disposal, may he by killed by you, O you gods, he may die through your instrumentality without (finding time to) turn behind, without (even) looking behind !

2. He may be pushed on the back side, pushed on the left side, again on the right side ; he may be struck again on the front-side. His mouth may be battered ;

3. his forehead may be smashed ; his brains may be sipped up ; his belly may be ripped open ; his intestines may be rooted out ; his entrails may be drawn out ; his heart may be

4. plucked out ; his blood may be drunk up ; then he may be trampled upon ; lastly, he may be given over to death. When he goes to the forest,

5. he may be bitten by poisonous snakes, eaten up by tigers. When he goes to the fields, he may be struck by lightning, torn into pieces by the *rāk(ṣ)asa*-s. ;

6. when he stays at home, he may be hit by the fire of the thunder without (obtaining) the showers of rain, he may be wrapped up and scorched by the god of fire, he may be reduced to ashes with all his possessions

Pl. XI, B.

1. without (finding time) to turn behind ! He may be thrown into the Mahāraurava-hell ! When he goes to the water, he may be bitten by the crocodile,

2. *mumul*,[84] *tuviran*,[85] *timinggila*,[86] *mahāgila*.[87] When he ascends (the hill) from (his) way with difficulty, he may be pinched by the sharp points of stones ;

3. in descending (from the hill) he may injure himself, fall stumbling (and) become bruised, broken (and) smashed ; on the plains, he may stand with a gaping mouth, perplexed, at his wit's end,

4. So dies the person of evil disposition who violates the freedom of the free-hold of Kañcana and what comes under the sway of the foundation !

5. Let all be informed of this and be careful (of this) ! As[88] long as the majestic mountain Mahāmeru stands on the earth,

6. so long shall the retribution of sins endure for transgressing the royal privileges ! He who violates royal privileges out of infatuation

Pl. XII, A.

1. is a fool : he always goes to the Raurava-hell with all further generations. If he is born as a man, he may be one without manhood, cripple, poor, deaf, lame, leprous, epileptic and dwarf !

1. *Notulen*, 1879, p. 146 ; Verbeek, *Oudheden*, pp. 250-51.
2. *VG* VII, p. 20.
3. Juynboll, *Katalog*, p. 230
4. *Notulen*, 1879, P, 115.
5. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 229 and f.n. 6
6. *VBG*, XXXIX.
7. *Versl. en Meded. Kon. Ak, v. Wet. Afd. Lett.* 2 : X, pp. 77-115. This has been reprinted in *VG*, VII, pp, 17-53, with the addition of a facsimile of one plate.
8. *TBG* 56 (1914) pp. 477-484 ; *Geschiedenis* (1931) pp. 221-222.
9. *TBG* 75 (1935) pp. 437-443 Stutterheim also refers to another inscription discovered from Ratu Baka which refers to *Maṇimakuṭādhirājallokapāla*. As this record is dated in 778 Śaka and refers to king Lokapāla, the date of the Gĕḍangan inscription appears to be verified from another source. See *TBG*, 75 p. 443, f.n. 3. See also Damais, *TBG* 83 (1949) pp, 1-2. On p. 3 Damais reads the line containing *maṇimukuṭa* as :
   1. // 0 // svastir bhavatu o maṇimakuṭavirājallokaḥ ālai
   2. rvṛto yaḥ...
10. *TBG* 83 (1949) p. 6
11. *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 38. Regarding the problems of the date, see the same author in *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 26, f,n. 1
12. Skt. : °ṣāṭīta.
13. Skt. : °daśī
14. Skt. : āg°
15. Skt. :°vinī
16. Skt. : °tī°
17. Skt. : sau°
18. Skt. : taiti°
19. This and the feregoing word do not occur in the transcription of Kern.
20. Skt. bhuvan°. Kern's reading of °ne° appears to be a printing mistake.
21. One should expect here : °vijayī.
22. Skt. : parākramottu°
23. Text up to this has also been published by Damais in *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 26.
24. Kern's reading of °tri appears to be a printing mistake.
25. This is the usual Old-Jav. spelling for Skt. °śasti
26. Kern's reading of bodhi° appears to be a printing mistake.
27. Kern read 'in', but there is no sign of *n* in the Fs,
28. Read : tĕmpaḥ (Kern).

29. Kern's reading of bodhi° appears to be a printing mistake.
30. Skt. : mahā°
31. Skt. : bauddha°
32. Skt : vara.
33. Kern read : °sima. Perhaps this is a printing mistake.
34. Kern read : Śri. Perhaps this is a printing mistake.
35. Skt. : °cha°
36. Skt. : °bhu°
37. Kern reads tri°, apparently a printing mistake, but the above has to be corrected as such.
38. Skt. : suṣṭhu°
39. Read : matang°
40. Skt. : vara
41. Read : prāsāda (Kern)
42. Skt. : arccā
43. Skt. : bau°
44. skt. : sthāna
45. Skt. : °prā°
46. Skt. : āg°
47. The following portion up to *manĕngah i* does not occur in the transcription of Kern. As he has, however, translated the passage, the slip appears to be due to the printer.
48. Skt. : ā°
49. Kern conjectures this to be a mistake for : angulvan.
50. This appears to be a variant for asiḍaktan, Cf. Kern, *op cit.*, p. 45.
51. Usually : sangkeng.
51a) Read : °vanya (Kern).
52. Read : °santāna. Kern's reading of °santāna is not warranted by the FS.
53. To be scrapped (Kern)
54. See f.n. 51 above.
55. Kern's reading of °ṇṇ° is not warranted by the FS.
56. Skt. : āṣāḍha
57. Kern reads here : vnang acuringa, but the former word does not appear in the FS
58. Read : vallī
59. Skt, : °puṣpa
60. Skt, °graha
61. Kern's reading of °ṇi appears to be a printing mistake,

61a. Kern's reading of 'pa' appears to be a printing mistake.
62. Remnant of kangśa. (Kern).
63. Kern's reading of crī is obviously a printing mistake.
64. Kern has left this out from his transcription.
65. Kern read : panuksuk, but the first k is absent in .FS
66. Read : mvang irikang [Kern].
67. Read : inatu°
68. Read : sākṣībhūta.
69. Kern's transcription has the wrong reading : hinanana,° evidently a printer's mistake.
70. Read : sahle (Kern).
71. Kern mis-reads : catuṣ°, though the above has to be corrected as such.
72. Kern's reading of crī is evidently a printing mistake.
73. Read : °candana.
74. Read : agastya.
75. Read : maharṣi.
76. Read : madhya.
77. Read : ad°-
78. Read : śaśī
79. Read : °na.
80. The Skt. form should be : °rātra.
81. Read : sandhyā°.
82. Read : °su°.
83. Read : gandha°.
84. Read : °raga.
85. The corresponding Skt. form is : °vera.
86. Read : Vāṣava.
87. Read : °ka.
88. Read : nandī°.
89. Read : ṣaḍ°.
90. Read : durgā°.
91. Kern has left this out.
92. Read : °kala (Kern).
93. Read : sākṣī°.
94. Read : śa°.
95. Kern appears to be mistaken in reading : kabeḥ.
96. Read . brāhmaṇa.
97. Kern's reading of °triya does not appear to be correct, though the above has to be corrected as such.
98. Read : caṇḍāla,
99. Read : °Veśanya. The word is missed in Kern's transcription.
100. Kern's reading of dharmmā° appears to be incorrect.
101. Read : °adĕg°.
102. Kern's reading of be° appears to be a printing mistake.
103. Kern's reading of utīk appears to be incorrect.

104. Skt. : bhasmībhūta.

105 Kern's reading of °mā° appears to be a mistake.

106 Kern mis-reads it as : kabeh.

107. Read : syād (Kern).

108. Kern's reading of mū° appears to be a mistake.

109. Kern mis-reads it as : °veiḥ.

110. Kern appears to be mistaken in reading it as kli°, although it needs emendation as such.

111. Kern (*VG.* VII, pp. 27-28) has emended these corrupt Skt. verses in the following manner :

yāvat pratiṣṭhito bhūmau mahāmeruḥ suparvvataḥ |
tāvat kilviṣabhuktiḥ syād rājānugrahalangghanāt ||
yo rājānugrahaṃ hatvā (*read*, hanyān) mohād mūrkho naro hi saḥ |
parāparakulaiḥ sarvai roravaṃ yātu sarvvadā ||
yadi syād mānuṣībhūtaḥ klīvaḥ panggur daridrakaḥ |
badhiraś ca kuṇiḥ kuṣṭho'pasmāro vāmanas tathā ||

TRANSLATION

FOOTNOTES

1. A Mal. Polynesian day of the six-day week
2. A Mal. Polynesian day of the five-day week.
3. The name of a vuku.
4. The titles may be translated thus : the illustrious ruler of the world, an incarnation of Viṣṇu on earth, the conqueror of (all) regions, supreme in rowess, bearing the name of Lokapāla.
5. Lit. Chief officers.
6. On *dharmmasīma svatantra* or *lĕpas*, see Kern in *VG*, VII. p. 20.
7. Kern translales the term by *priyayi*.
8. Lit. the (village)-elder. 9. Its singnificance is not clear.
10. According to Kern : the oldest assessor.
11. According to Kern : the youngest assessor.
12. The village-messenger or assistant ? Magician ? In Mod. Java, they are Headman's messengers. The meaning of magician is suggested by Berg in *BKI*. 85 (1929) pp. 469-478. This interpretation is perhaps corroborated by the present instance because the root of the following word is *vil* which means 'a titan.' See also Coster-wijsman's criticism of Berg's paper in *BKI*, 90, pp. 141-44 ; Aichele, *oudjavaansche heroepsnamen : kabayan, widu, bhujangga* in *Djawa*, 11 (1931), Rassers, *Kabayan* in *BKI*, 100 (1941).
13. According to Kern : lastly. See his note in *VG*, VII, p. 43.

14. The current translation of this term by Kern (*VG* VII, p. 44), Stutterheim (*TBG*, 65, p. 241) and Van Naerssen (*Aanw. Kol Inst.*, 1934, p.138) appears unsatisfactory to me. In translating this word, one has to consider *all* references to this term in Old-Jav. inscriptions, particularly the inscription under review, the Kĕmbang Arum inscription (*OV*, 1925. Bijl. B). *OJO XXVI* and XXX. As I find no way out, I retain the term as it is.
15. Here the writer has used Skt. *sandhi* rule in the compound *Sārisāryyākāyakāya=sārisāri+akāyakāya.*
16. See the note of Kern, *op. cit* , p. 44.
17. This refers to universal monarchy.
18. An incarnation of Viṣṇu.
19 Probably we have to read here 'westwards', as the text appears to contain a mistake.
20. An administrative unit or a religious circle.
21. The copyist has probably left out a place-name at this place.
22. Śiva (temple) has been aimed hereby.
23. Durgā. 24. Proceeds of the plot ?
25. Apparently a Brāhmaṇa-priest has been aimed hereby.
26 The known meanings of the following two words do not yield any sense here.
27. I suppose that the free-hold acquired property as far as the shadow of the wall stretches in order to avoid dispute with neighbours.
28 Pada=Skt. Pāda one having feet i.e. per person or per head .
29. A kind of strong drink. See the note of Kern, *op. cit.* p. 45,
30. See *Ibid.*, p. 46, A kind of fine dress. It reminded Kern of Indian *banat*.
31. The use of golden bells was a royal privilege. Vide Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 14
32. In a corresponding place of *OJO* LXXXIII, we have *agilang-gilang ampyal gading*. If *ampyal* has been left out in our text due to the carelessness of the copyist. the full text may as well be interpreted by : the uncared-for (or, glazing) *ampyal*-bamboos and small yellow cocoanuts.
33. This and the fore-going two words may denote special kinds of dishes. Pras=Skt. Prāsa> bĕras ?
34. This is a high official title.
35. De Casparis has already observed (*op. cit.*) p. 228 f.n. 67) that the *nayakas* and *pratyayas* almost always go together. Following Coedes he thinks that the *pratyayas* are connected with the administration of property of deceased people (on behalf of minor heirs or of the king ?). If that is so, the principal difference between *nāyakas* and *pratyayas* would lie in this that while the former would administer property of living people, the latter the estates of dead persons not yet taken possession of by legitimate claimants. The *nayakas* were not always lower-class

people, as would appear from the spiritual title of *bhagavanta* given to *Nāyaka* Jyotiṣa (see below no. 68. 3).

36. Over *ring dangu*, see Stutterheim in *TBG*, 65, p 244, f.n. 70.

37. His functions are not known.

38. Stutterheim (*TBG*, 65, p 253) thinks that the word may be connected with *tirip*. Its primary significance is : to arrange, regulate.

39. A class of quasi doctors who invoke the aid of gods to cure various diseases ? See Stutterheim, *op cit* , p 249.

40. A class of servants.

41. His functions are not known. See however Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, p. 253

42. Elsewhere, *māvī*. Dealers of bamboos ? According to Kern (*op. cit* , p. 48) : possibly a class of acrobats.

43. Elsewhere, *havur* In 87. 3, avur is a kind of tax. So the term seems to refer to the collectors of *avur* taxes. It seems to be a kind of levy.

44. Lit. flowers of the year. The term may therefore refer to the best harvest of the year (as tributes for the king). *cf.* Stutterheim, *op cit* , pp. 262-63 with literature cited thereon. In 87. 3, it seems to refer to a kind of tax. So it seems to refer to the 'collectors of *skar tahun*' taxes.

45. Dealers of brass.

46. His functions are not known.

47. *paṅgulung* may mean 'carriers'. The word may, therefore, be connected with the following word. According to Kern (*op. cit.*, p. 48) *pagulung pulung paḍi* denotes 'rollers and binders of *paḍi*'. See also Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, p. 201, s. v. *pulung paḍi*.

48. The significance of the term is not quite clear. For the various interpretations suggested, see Kern, *op. cit* , p 48 ; Stutterheim, *ap. cit* , pp 263-64.

49. Barge-man.

50. The significance of the term is not clear. See however Hazeu in *TBG*, 46, p. 305 ff. and Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

51. Makers of ornamental tassels of clothes ? For other interpretations suggested, see Stutterheim, *op. cit.* p. 254.

52. According to Juynboll (*Lijst*, p. 174) : festoon-makers for the *Kris*. See also Stutterheim, *op. cit.*

53. Lit. The chief of the Chinese. His functions might have been similar to those of a mod. consul.

54. Lit. The chief of the Indians. According to Kern (*op. cit.*) : dramatic player or *ḍalang*.

55. Chief over the secret service ? Class of Magicians ?

56. Doctor ? Seeker of medicinal herbs ? See Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-54.

57. According to Kern (*op. cit.*,) : Someone who gathers food from woods and fields.

58. According to Kern (*op. cit*, p 49) : slaves maintained out of luxury. Stutterheim (*op. cit* , p. 266) suggests : slaves coming to the king's possession out of misdeeds.

59. Apparently a class of servants or slaves. See Kern, *op. cit* , and Stutterheim, *op. cit* , pp. 266-67.

60. Elsewhere, *pamṛsi* or *mamṛsi*. According to Kern (*op. cit*), the term denotes : cushion-carriers of the king. Stutterheim also (*op. cit* , p 266) thought that the term refers to a class of servants or slaves He now seems to favour its interpretation by : corpse-washers (?). See *TBG*, 75, p. 435.

61. Negrito ? See Kern, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 49 ; Pigeaud, *Tantu*, p 283 ; Stutterheim in *TBG*, 65, p. 256

62. This is the usual title of Nigers in the Archipelago. Hereover, See Groeneveldt *Notes*, p. 14 and f.n. 5 ; Kern, *op cit* , p. 30; Stutterheim, *op. cit* ; Krom, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 122-123, with literature cited thereon.

63. The term may refer to 'royal slaves of inner apartments'. See the use of *vatĕk* in *KO* XVIII : 14. Stutterheim has (*TBG*, 75, p. 435) translated the term by '*kraton*-people'. See also Kern *op. cit.*, p 49; *TBG*, 65 p. 267. Elsewhere, for instance in 65 B. 5 below, we find at this place : *watak i ḍalam*.

64. Its significance is not known to me.

65. Kern (*VG*, VII, p. 49) explains *angśa pratyangśa* as 'shoulder to shoulder', a manner of fighting, while V. d. Tuuk surmises the phrase to stand for 'progeny' (?). The interpretation offered by these scholars hardly suits the context in many cases. The above interpretation perhaps obviates this difficulty and has the advantage of being almost a literal translation of the Skt. phrase.

66. That is usually translated by 'carpenter.' Stutterheim suggests (*TBG* 75 p. 435, f.n. 5) 'workers with woods', and refers to the fact that, in Bali, the term denotes not only carpenters but also image-carver. As *uṇḍahagi* has been grouped in our text under the *gusali-s* or smiths, the term perhaps refers to the makers of wooden things, such as, dolls, images of deities, etc.

67. Shield-makers ? It may also be noted in this connexion that in *OJO* LXXXIII : 7*b*, we have : *paṇḍe mas, paṇḍe gangsa, paṇḍe ḍaḍap* etc. We may also interpret our text in a different way, viz. : *uṇḍahagi-s* with *ḍaḍap*-trees.

68. The explanation of some of the following terms by Kern (*op. cit.*, pp. 49-50) does not appear happy to me.

69. Or : two bundles for each person is the limit.

70. Apparently a class of revenue officers charged to levy taxes on forbidden goods. See also the note of Kern, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

71. A kind of tortoise.

72. Land-tortoise.

73. A Papuan, Negrito. See the detailed note of Kern, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

74. The root may be either Skt. *grah* or Jav. *rah*. If the latter explanation is followed, the above translation should be emended as : they may beat the slaves to emit blood when caught with guilt.

75. Or : to the thieves who have stolen shortly before.

76. 1/16 *tahil*.

77. The text should have been : vḍihan sahlai pirak mā 3 sovang sovang.

78. Or *sang* Ugangan, in which case the use of the honorific *sang* after *buyut* will be a bit unusual.

79. For the omission of prefix *i*, the import of Mangaran remains vague. The term literally means 'named', but in the preceding and following cases, we have just at this place the name of a village. Perhaps we may explain the passage as : (*the rāma-s*) named buyut Dāna hutang (and) *vinkas Si* Taliduk.

80. The name lit. means 'the buffalo of (goddess) Caṇḍī'. As buffaloes were really sacrificed before the deity, the name is interesting.

81. The list of Lokapālas varies in different Skt. works of India, but the antiquity of the concept of Lokapāla or Dikpāla seems to go back to the Vedic period (cf. J. N. Banerji, *Development of Hindu iconography*, pp. 519-22). In more detailed lists from India, Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, the Moon or Yakṣa (=Kuvera) and Śiva are described as the Guardian of the East, South-east, South, South-west, West, North-west, North and North-east respectively. The responsibility over the directions was also shared by the eight planets (excluding Ketu) viz. Sun, Venus, Mars, Rāhu, Saturn, Moon, Mercury and Jupiter. Vide *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. LIII, 3 ; LXXXV. 75 ; *Yogayātrā* VI. 1 ; *Bṛhajjātaka*, II. 5-7. See also P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstras* V, pt. I,p 573. The iconography of the Lokapālas is given in Varāhamihir's *Yogayātrā* ed. by J. L. Shastri, Lahore, 1944.

82. This is the name of certain *ketu-s*, i. e., comets. See the note of Kern in *VG*, VII p. 311.

83. In some inscriptions, the word *prasiddha* is associated at this place with *devatā* and, according to Stutterheim, this refers to 'deified beings' (*TBG*, 67, p. 188).

84. Shark.

85. A kind of sea-monster.

86. Whale.

87. A kind of sea-monster.

88 The following portion of the text is written in corrupt Sanskrit.

XXIII

THE STONE OF GUNUNG VULE (BĔRAHOL), 783 ŚAKA.

This stone was obtained from Bĕrahol in the Vanasaba division of the residency of Kĕdu. It stood for sometime at Vanasaba and is now preserved in the Jakarta Museum where it is numbered D. 74.[1] Impressions of this record are mentioned in the *Notulen*. 1878, p. 114 ; 1888, pp. 161-162, and they now form *Oudh. Bur.* nos. 262, 305, 372 and 373.[2]

The legible portion of this inscription has been edited by Dr. Brandes.[3] Brandes read the year as 788 (?), but Damais reads it as 783. According to him the date corresponds to 19th Dec., 861 A.D.

TEXT

svasti śakavarṣātīta
783 poṣamāśa[4]
caturdaśī śuklapakṣa
mavulu pahing śukra vā-
ra mṛgaśira[5] nakṣatra
brahmāyoga[6] tatkā-
la ning vanua i taju
śrī vatak kayuvangi śimā nira
pu si gunung vule i ḍihyang

TRANSLATION

Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 783, the month of Pauṣa, fourteenth day of the bright half of the month, *mavulu*,[7] *pahing*,[8] Friday, the lunar mansion Mṛgaśirā, the conjunction of Brahma. At that time, the village of Taju Śrī under Kayuvangi became the freehold of Pu Sigunung,[9] the *vule* of Ḍihyang.

1. *Notulen* 1890, pp. 3, 11 ; Verbeek, *Oudheden*, p. 120 ; *Rapp.*, 1911, p. 60.
2. *OJO* p. 281.
3. *Notulen*, 1889, p. 16
4. Read : pauṣa māsa
5. Read : ° rā.
6. Read : Brahma°
7. A Mal-Poly. day of the six-day week.
8. A Mal-Poly. day of the five-day week.
9. The text has pu ai gunung, As we have the unusual combination of *pu* and *si* before gunung, the explanation offered above seems to be reasonable.

XXIV

THE STONE OF TALAGA TAṆJUNG (Kali Bĕbĕr) 783 SAKA

According to Hoepermans,[1] this stone was obtained from Ka Bĕbĕr, now called Garung, in the Vanasaba-division of the residency of Kĕdu. It was thereafter brought to the Regent of Ḳĕndal[2] who presented it to the Jakarta Museum where it is numbered D. 20.[3] An impression of this stone is mentioned in the *Notulen* 1869, Bijl. N., and this now forms *Oudh. Bur.* no. 337. A plaster-cast of this inscription is also extant at the Leiden Ethn. Mus.,[4] where it is numbered 2989.

Regarding this stone, Dr. Brandes[5] furnished some particulars in 1887. He said that the top of the stone has the shape of an umbrella. The stone is of gray colour and is much weather-beaten. The legends have been inscribed on the corner of a sunk level of the stone, whereof the apex bears some artistic works. The flanks are also adorned with rosette. The inscription is written in Old-Javanese script of Central Java on both the faces, but the first side has been extremely damaged. The stone measures 116 c.m. in height across the middle, 105 at the sides, 49 in breadth, 12 in thickness above, and 11 below.[6]

The inscription records the grant of a free-hold, but neither the name of the donor nor the name of the donee can be recognised in the unmutilated portions of the text. According to Damais, the date of the inscription corresponds to 5th January, 862 A. D.

It has been transcribed in *OJO* where it bears no. VII.

TEXT.

RECTO

1. ‖ svasti śakavarsātīta[7] 783 māsamāgha
2. tithi pratipāda[8] śuklapakṣa va. va so[9] vāna
3. tatkāla pitāmaha i pi ma

4. sīma savaḥ ri pi ga, si
5. si sang ḍa
6. tu pinghe nga
7. ñjar haji yu
8. pa, i sira haji i kaha. sang
9. tuhān ni janaya aliḥ haji pu ma
10. gdha, raga kang bungle pu yanta sang mataṇḍa na
11. yaka i tamyang vaḥ [10] i sira angsit yu
12. l mā l ku sovang sovang, mvang parvuvus sang kuku
13. ya tuhān ning kalu
14. lu sang ma sang tuhān ning la
15. angsit
16. ma

VERSO

1. pu bluñuḥ sang (ma)ngasiakan[11] madmak i talaga ta
2. ñjung sang citralekha madmak para paveḥ i sira ang
3. si(t) yu l ku 4 sovang sang vahuta aliḥ tatapa
4. pu divū, pasaranak pu iṇḍu, paveaḥ i sira ragi
5. yu l ku 4 sovang sovang sang pangurang pu langhava svā
6. mi vulung katak pu madhava, svāmi kayuvangi pu sukri, pave
7. ḥ i sira angsit yu l mā l sovang sovang, anakvi sang pa
8. ngurang pu simpĕ paveḥ i sira ken ātmarakṣa savlaḥ sisim
9. vrat su mā l anakvi svāmi kayuvangi pu dimit paveḥ i
10. sira ken a ra savlah sisim vrat mā l pa
11. rujar svāmi [12] kayuvangi parujar svāmi vulung katak pu gu
12. vinda juru luvangantan baruṇa juru ing paṇḍai gangsa,
13. patinghalan pu mamang, paveḥ i sira ragi yu l so
14. vang sovang, lavan juru i tamvalang pañjang pu pradhāna juru ta
15. tavvangntas pu vang ramanta i limo susu tuha vanu
16. a sang pratyaya hyang

TRANSLATION

RECTO.

1. ‖ Hail! The Śaka year expired, 783, the month of Māgha,
2. first day of the bright half of the month, *Vas*, [13] *Vage*[14], Monday.
3. At that time the *pitāmaha*[15] of ... . marked
4. out *savaḥ*-fields into a free-hold at ... ...
5. ....
6. ... ...*pinghe* [16] ... ... ga-
7. *ñjar haji* (*patra sisi*) [17] .... set .....
8. ... ... to him ... ... *sang*
9. *tuhān* of Janaya ... ... both ... ... *pu* ma-
10. g ha, the *ragakang* (of) Bung'e[18(?)] (viz.) *pu* Yanta, *sang mataṇḍa na-*
11. *yaka*[19] of Tamyang (viz.) ... ... gave him 1 set
12. of *angsit*[20]-cloth, gold 1 *kupang*, each in particular. Moreover, the *parvuvus* (viz.) *sang* Kuku
13. ... ... the *tuhān* of Kalu
14. lu ... ... *sang* ... ... *sang tuhān* of
15. ... ... *angsit* (-cloth) ... ...
16.

VERSO

1. *Pu* Bluñuḥ respectfully presented gifts of tank-
2. lilies (and) the honourable *citralekha*[21] gave other gifts to him (namely)[22] *ang*-
3. *si(t)*-(cloth) 1 set (and) *kupang* 4, each. Both the *sang vahutas*: (the *vahuta* of) Tatapa
4. (viz.) *Pu* Divū, and (the *vahuta* of) Pasaranak[23] (viz.) *Pu* Iṇḍu, respectively, gave him 1 set

5. of *ragi*(-cloth) (and) 4 *kupang*. *Sang pangurang* (viz.) *Pu* Langhava, the lord
6. of Vulung Katak (viz.) *Pu* Madhava, the lord of Kayuvangi (viz.) *P* Sukri, respectively, gave
7. him *angsit* (cloth) 1 set (and) *māṣa* 1. The wife of *sang pa-*
8. *ngurang* (viz.) *Pu* Simpĕ gave him one piece of skirt (called) *ātmarakṣa*[24], one piece cloth (and) sisim[24a] ring
9. weighing gold 1 *māṣa* ; the wife of the lord of Kayuvangi (viz.) *Pu* Dimit gave
10. him one piece of skirt ··· ··· ··· one piece (and) sisim-ring weighing (gold) 1 *māṣa*. The *pa-*
11. *rujar*[25] of the lord of Kayuvangi, the *parujar* of the lord of Vulung Katak, *Pu* Gu-
12. vinda, the *juru* of Luvang antan[26] (namely ?) Baruṇa, the *juru* of[n] the brass-smiths,
13. the *patinghalan*[27] (viz.) *Pu* Mamang gave him *ragi*-cloth 1 set, each in
14. particular. Moreover, the *juru* of Tamvalang pañjang (viz.) *Pu* Pradhāna, the *juru* of Ta-
15. tavvangĕntas (viz.) *Pu* Vang ··· ··· the *rāmanta*(s)[28] of Limo susu, the *tuha vanu-*
16. *ā* *sang pratyaya*[29] (viz.) *hyang*.....

FOOTNOTES

1. Quoted by Verbeek, *Oudheden*, pp. 87, 120.
2. On account of its association with Kĕndal, the record was often designated in older publications as the stone of Kĕndal, but this nomenclature has fallen into disuetude for obvious reasons.
3. *Notulen* XII (1874) p. 121 ; *Rapp.*, 1911, p. 58.

4. Juynboll, *Katalog V*, p. 233.
5. *Catalogus Groeneveldt*, p. 379.
6. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, gave a somewhat different measurement for this stone.
7. Read : °rṣā.
8. Read : °pada.
9. In *OJO*, we had : va. a
10. Read : (pa)veḥ.
11. Read : °sčakan.
12. Skt. : Svāmī
13. A Mal.- poly. day of the six-day week.
14. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
15. This is the title of a class of spiritual personages. As pitāmaha is the appellation of Brahmā, can it refer to follower of Brahmā ? The term was much in vogue in the Dieng-region. *cf. OJO.* XCVII : 9 ; XCIX ; 11. Krom writes hereover in *Meded. Kon. Ak. v. Wet. Afd. Lett.*, 58(1924), p. 214
16. A class of officers of unknown function.
17. This is a valuable pattern of clothes and is referred to in some inscriptions. cf. *OJO* XXII : 8 ; no. 61. pl. 1 : 9 ; no. 70. A. 10.
18. The translation of this clause is provisional, due to the uncertainty of the context.
19. Lit. the principal *nayaka*.
20. A pattern of cloth, perhaps 'white cloth'.
21. Designer of documents.
22. From *KO* XIV : A. 8 ; *OJO* XIX : V° 10-12. and some other records *madmak* and *mangaśĕakan* appear to be titles. They may be connected with the distribution of gifts, but their mutual relations, if any, cannot be determined. If these are titles some alternative translations would be possible. One is given below :
    1. *Pu* Bluñuḥ, (who is) the *mangaśĕakan* (and) *madmak* of Talaga
    2. tañjung, (and) the *citralekha* (who is) the *madmak* (of) Para gave him *ang-*. According to de Casparis (*Pras. Ind.* II, pp. 239-40) the term however signifies 'a servant who conveys (lit. makes arrive), messages and orders.
23. A *Vahuta* of Pasaranak is mentioned in *KO* XVII : 18.
24. The passage may also be translated as : "skirt to protect the body....."
24a. Elsewhere : singsim. The full name of the singsim-ring seems to be the well-known simsim prāsāda voḥ.
25. Proxy, Spokesman. *Parujar=paruvus*. cf. Stutterheim in *TBG*, 73 (1933) p. 100.
26. Or. '.....the *juru* of the *luvang(s)* of Antan.....'*Luvang* appears as an official title in *OJO* XVIII : 5, while (Munggu) antan is also a place-name therein. To mention the part of the village is not unusual in Old-Javanese records.

27. Inspector.

28. Functionaries of villages. See *TBG* 73 (1933) pp. 100 ff. Their relation with the rāmas are not known. It may mean *rāmas* of different categories and may bear a plural sense, but then it is difficult to be definite about it.

29. The function of this officer is not known. In later inscriptions, the title usually occurs after the *nayaka*. In Pāla inscriptions of Bengal belonging to the 8th century A. D., it is used in the sense of : entrusted with treasure, tax, revenue etc. This official title is also to be met with in Cambodian inscriptions (vide K. K. Sarkar. *Early Indo Cambodian contacts*, p. 20).

XXV

THE STONE OF VUKIRAN (PERENG), 784 ŚAKA

This stone-inscription was found at Pereng which lies about 2 kilometres to the South-east of Prambanan. The place is in the neighbourhood of the foot of the southern mountain-ranges between the *kraton* of Ratu baka and Caṇḍi Sujivan.[1] The inscription first came to the possession of Mr. Klāring at Jogjakarta. In 1890, the Jakarta museum recorded the accession of this stone under D. 77.[2] According to Cohen Stuart,[3] it measures about 96 × 42 c.m.

A photo of this inscription was taken by Van Kinsbergen[4] as early as 1865. We also find reference to three impressions of this record in the *Notulen* for 1869, Bijl. N. Dr. Cohen Stuart who published a complete transcription of this record in his *KO* XXIII (1875) handled this inscription in *TBG*, 18 (1868-72) pp. 89-117. In the following year (1873), Sanskrit portions of this inscription were handled by Prof. Kern[5] who has also published a complete facsimile based upon the photo of Van Kinsbergen. The latest reading and translation of the record were furnished by Poerbatjaraka[6] in 1926.

The inscription opens with some laudatory verses to Śiva and records that in 784 Śaka[7] , the *rakai* of Valaing[8] (viz.) *pu* Kumbhayoni offerd a *savah* for a religious foundation. The concluding portions indicate that the god-house called Bhadrāloka was founded by Kalaśaja and a desire is expressed that his descendants may obtain therein an abode and life-subsistence.

The opening section of the inscription is written in Sanskrit verses, forming three stanzas in Āryā metre. In the concluding portion of the inscription from l. 17, four Sanskrit verses are written in two more strophes of Āryā metre. The other portions of the record are written in Old- Javanese prose.

TEXT.

1. yata utpannaṃ viśvaṃ yatra ca jātaṃ vilīnam api yatra
2. tasmai namo bhagavate śivāya [9] śivakāriṇe tubhyaṃ ‖
3. pathagāpi dūraduritā śūnyāpi hitapradānimiṣapūrṇnā
4. śiviravṛtāpyatipūtā [10] śilā [11] yato janmibhiḥ pūjyā ‖
5. yāvat khe raviśaśinau yāvad dhatri [12] catussamudravṛtā
6. yāvaddaśadiśi [13] vāyus tāvad bhaktir valaing nāmnaḥ ‖
7. svasti śakavarṣātīta 784 māgha·māsa śuklapakṣa
8. tṛtīya[13a]somavāra tatkāla rake valaing pu kumbhayo
9. ni puyut. sang ratu i halu pakviannira [14] i jangluran. ma
10. veḥ savaḥ i vukiran. tampaḥ aliḥ i tamvā hurang ngaran ni
11. kanang savaḥ dmak. carua[15] sang hyang vināya uvang sang pamgat.
12. meḥhakan. ikanang savaḥ sang tuha kalang pu nista gusti
13. si unggaḥ vinkas. si manikṣa. parujar kāliḥ si ara si
14. manggaḥ tunggu kuvu si vsi vahuta si mitra sang tanguṇḍaha
15. ni inajar. raken mapatiḥ kāliḥ vadihati makudur. ti
16. ruan. asing muput. iking sīma upadravā brahmahatya [16] ‖
17. vihite kalaśajanāmnā bhadrāālokāhvaye vivudhage
18. he, tasyātha putrapotrāḥ [17] bhavantu labdheṣṭapadajīvāḥ ‖ anya
19. cca ‖ jagatāṃ śivamastu[18] sadā, bho dvija rājñāṃ tathā śivaratānāṃ.
20. śrutibhaktidānadharmmā bhavantu nārātirogerṣyāḥ ‖
21. tunggang davĕt langka sĕrĕḥ vulakanni valā valaing lo
22. dvāng vanvanirang dhīmān. kumbhayoni ngarannira ‖

TRANSLATION.

1. Wherefrom all originated and wherein (all) are born, wherein (all) merge again, [19]
2. to Thee they pray, to Śiva, the Lord, to you, the doer o good.

3. Though it is placed on the way, (this) stone keeps off the wicked far from itself ; though empty, it is full of bliss-bestowing wakefulness[20] ;
4. Though surrounded by *śivira*, [21] (this) stone is extremely sacred ; this is He (who is) to be worshipped by mortals.[22]
5. As long as the Sun and the Moon endure in the sky, as long as the earth is surrounded by the four oceans,
6. as long as the wind (pervades) the ten quarters, so long shall endure the devotion of him whose name is Valaing.[23]
7. Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 784, the month of Māgha, third day of the bright half of the month, [24]
8. Monday. At that time, the *raka* of Valaing (viz.) *Pu* Kumbhayoni,[25]
9. the great grandson[26] of the king of Halu,[27] with his grandmother[28] (?) from Jangluran,[29]
10. offered the *savah*-field at Vukiran (measuring) two *tampah*-s. Tamvā hurang is the name of
11. the *savah* (and this) gift has to be used for *caru*-offering by the Rev. teacher Vināya (or, the Rev. teacher of Discipline)[30]. *Sang Pamgat*
12. gave away the *savah*-field (in the presence of) *Sang tuha kalang*[31] (viz.) *Pu* Nista, the *gusti* (viz.)
13. *Si* Unggah, the *vinkas* (viz.) *Si* Manikṣa, both the *parujar*-s (viz.) *Si* Ara (and) *Si*
14. Manggah, the *tunggū kuvu*[32] (viz.) *Si* Vsi, the *vahuta* (viz.) *Si* Mitra. As pronouncers
15. of curse (were present) both the *raken*[33] *mapatih*-s, the *vadihati*, the *makudur* (and) the *ti*-
16. *ruan*. (The curse is) : who violates this free-hold may experience the punishment (that accrues) from the murder of a Brāhmaṇa.
17. After the god-house called Bhadrāloka [34] was founded by the one named Kalaśaja, [35]

18. may his [36] sons and grandsons (i. e., descendants) also obtain therein an abode and life-subsistence according to desire.

Moreover—

19. Always it may go well with the people, O Brāhmaṇa, as also with the kings and those who are engaged in doing good (or, who are devoted to Śiva)!

20. May learning, devotion, charity, virtue be (here), not enemy, disease and jealousy!

21. Tunggang, Davət, Langka, Sĕrĕḥ, the waterfall of Valā, Valaing, [37] Lo-

22. dvāng are the *desa*-s of the wise one whose name is Kumbhayoni.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Notulen*, 24 (1936) p. 79. The record was previously wrongly described as *the stone of Kläring* and *the stone of Prambanan*.
2. *Notulen*, 28 (1890) p. 44; *Rapp.*, 1911, p. 60.
3. *KO*, p. XIV.
4. In his collection of photos, this numbered 182.
5. *TBG*, 20 (1873) pp. 219-230; *VG* VI, pp. 277-290.
6. *Agastya*, pp. 45-51. For further references, See Verbeek, *Oudheden* pp. 164 ff., 191. Among later contributions, one is referred to *BKI*, 75 (1919) pp. 14-19; Krom, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 165 166.
7. It was originally read as 785 Śaka.
8. Damais has discussed the role of the raka of Valaing in the historical events of contemporary Central Java in BEFEO, XLVIII (1957) pp. 612, 644, and *Ibid.* LII, (1964) p. 93.
9. Cohen Stuart's ciwā^{c} appears to be due to a printing mistake.
10. Cohen Stuart's ciwira^{c} and Poerbatjaraka's śiwara^{c} appear to be due to printing mistakes.
11. In *KO* XXIII: 4, this is misprinted as cilā.

12. Skt. : dhātrī.
13. °dici is a misprint in Cohen Stuart's edition.
13a. Skt. °yā.
14. °kḍi°? [Cohen Stuart].
15. This is an ingenious reading of Dr. Poerbatjaraka.
16. The correct Sanskrit form is °tyā.
17. The Sanskrit form is °pautrāḥ, but in Old-Jav. *au* is sometimes replaced by *o*.
18. ciwa° is a misprint in Cohen Stuart's edition.
19. Poerbatjaraka remarks (*Agastya*, p. 46) that here *Trimūrtti* is represented in one form.
20. Kern translates the phrase by 'full of celestial beings'.
21. *Sivira* usually means 'camp, tent.' The sense is not applicable here, unless we postulate that the stone was placed in a tent (as against brick-temples) and was, therefore, exposed to the untouchables. Is it possible, after all, that *śivira* is a copyist's mistake for *śavara*, a class of hunters who are deemed untouchables in Hindu legal systems? For the remarks of Kern see *VG* VI, pp. 281-82.
22. Poerbatjaraka's emendation of *atiɲ ūtā śilā* into *atiśūtā śilā* is unacceptable. 'Firstly, it cannot be *bahuvrīhi*, such as Poerbatjaraka thinks; secondly, the suggested emendation violates the metre; thirdly, when *śilā* itself is mentioned, the introduction of Durgā is unnecessary.
23. Kern translates (*op. cit.*, p. 281) the verse as, ". . . . . , so long they honour him whose name is Valaing." The use of genitive in *nāmnaḥ* makes me doubtful of Kern's translation. I consider the text to run as: '. . . . *tāvad valaing-nāmnaḥ* (*janasya*) *bhaktiḥ* (*vardḍhayeta*),' This *Valaing* refers to the raka of Valaing (viz.) *Pu* Kumbhayoni.
24. The date was previously read as 784 or 735. Damais in *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 33 confirms the reading of the date as 784 Śaka. According to him, the date corresponds to 25th January, 863 A.D.
25. This appears to be the name of a person. At any rate, Agastya-Kumbhayoni is not intended here. This view appears reasonable from the following considerations:

a) *Pu* Kumbhayoni is called here 'the great grandson of the king of Halu.'. The same epithet will never be applicable to Agastya.

b) Unless other circumstances justify, it is difficult to understand why a deity will become the donor of *savah*-s. Dr Poerbatjaraka has offered not a very happy explanation for this phenomenon.

c) Excepting accidental similarity of names there is nothing to prove that the great seer is aimed here.

d) If Agastya was intended, we should have expected the use of the honorific *sang* or *sang hyang* in stead of *Pu*, as they are more appropriate than *Pu*.

Dr. Bosch, while rightly criticising Poerbatjaraka in *TBG*. 67, pp. 471-472, has fallen back on his well-known theory (*TBG*, 64, pp. 236 ff.) to explain Agastya-problems raised by this inscription. It would have been better if the procers was reversed. The latest view brings him in connexion with the restoration of Hindu authority in Central Java.

In this connexion. see Krom in *BKI*, 75. p. 14 ff., *Geschiedenis*, p. 166.

26. According to Poerbatjaraka, 'the great grandfather.' The line is translated by him (*Agastya* p. 47) as : "the reverend (of) Valaing, Mr. Kumbhayoni, the great grand father of the king of Halu.' On the other hand, Bosch (*TBG* 67 pp. 470-471) translates the line as "The raka of (the place) Valaing, Mr. Kumbhayoni, highly honoured by the king of Halu....."

27. Regarding *Sang Ratu i Halu* see *TBG* 83 (1949) p. 21 ff. and *BEFEO*. (1952) p. 34 f.n. 1. As pointed out by Damais, his identification with king Sañjaya, as proposed by de Casparis, is too far-fetched.

28. On the problem of this word, see *TBG* 75 pp. 456-60 with f.ns.

29. The translation of this clause is provisional. Jangluran may be the name of a place. *cf* Stutterheim in *TBG*, 65, p. 215. Dr. Poerbatjaraka's translation, viz., '. . .whose (Kumbhayoni's) mother's bosom is the urine-pot . . .' is awkward.

30. Here Vināya seems to be the name of a person. It would appear unreasonable that a Rev. teacher of Vinaya (Mahāyāna) would offer *caru* offerings to a Hindu temple,

31. Lit. the older of the *kalang*-s.

32. The head watchman of the village. Elsewhere : *juru kuvu*.

33. *Rakeŋ mapatih* is rather unusual. We generally find *rake mapatih*. Perhaps this is to distinguish them as spiritual functionaries ?

34. This may refer to the house of (Bhadreśvara-) liṅga, as this stone is decribed in the opening Sanskrit strophes as placed on the way, thus in an unguarded place.

35. As Kalasaja = Kumbhayoni, the former refers to the *raka* of Valaing (viz.) *Pu* Kumbhayoni, and not to the seer Agastya. The writer has used here merely a synonym to indicate *Pu* Kumbhayoni. This becomes more clear by the import of the following line.

36. 'His' undoubtedly refers to Kalasaja (=*Pu* Kumbhayoni). If so, 'sons and grandsons' necessarily refer to those of (*Pu*) Kalasaja=*Pu* Kumbhayoni. It would indeed be disconcerting to find the seer Agastya founding a temple in 785 Śaka, where his 'sons and grandsons' (!) will obtain life-subsistence.

37. It appears that the title *raka* of Valaing, i. e., lord of Valaing is derived from the name of this place. It might have been the residential place of Kumbhayoni. Over Valaing, See also Krom, *BKI*, 75, p. 16 ; also *OV*, 1923, p. 34. A place of this name occurs below in 70. B 23; 81. 1, etc

XXVI

THE STONE OF VANUA TĔNGAH I (CAṆḌI ARGAPURA I), 785 ŚAKA.

This stone inscription was obtained from Caṇḍi Argapura in the Tĕmanggung division of the residency of Kĕdu. It was later on brought to Tĕmanggung[1] and was therefrom despatched to the Jakarta Museum where it is numbered D. 81.[2] An impression of this inscription is mentioned in the *Notulen* for 1869, BijI.N, wherefore reference may be made to nos. 114 and 293 of the *Oud. Bur.*[3] The inscription has been transcribed in *OJO* where it bears no. VIII. Damais in *TBG* 83 (1949) pp. 4-5 calls this inscription the Charter af Vanua Tĕngah I and reads the date as 785 Śaka.[4] Krom[5], Goris[6] and some other scholars had previously read the year as 785 Śaka. The reading of the date and of the inscription by Damais has been followed here. Another stone inscription, which is a duplicate copy of this charter, exists. This second stone has been described by Damais as the inscription of Vanua Tĕngah II. The transcription of what Damais calls the inscription of Vanua Tĕngah I, which corresponds to D. 81 of the Jakarta Museum, is given below.

The record proves the existence of King Lokapāla in that particular year under the title of Raka i Kayuvangi. It records that the Raka of Pikatan, namely *pu* Manuku marked out a freehold at Vanua Tĕngah.

TEXT

1. svasti sakavarṣātīta[7] 785 jiṣṭamāsa[8] tithi
2. pañcamī kṛṣṇapakṣa pa. ka. vṛ. vāra hana yyumaḥ-
3. nya. tatkāla rakai pikatan pu manukū manusuk ṣī
4. ma ri vanua tan̆ngaḥ savaḥ damak ri kasugiḥhan
5. viniḥnya bariḥ 3/ ratu tatkāla rakarayān kayuvangi
6. pu lokapāla patiḥ rakarayān vka pu manūt sirika-
7. n -- *ha* halaran pu vīryya. panggil *hyang* pū ... ... ngga (--). tirua
8. n pu sapi si -a -a -- pu la -- *ñja* ... u - uri ... pu ... gi dali
9. nan pu dhnang. pangkur pu brahā *tavān* pu ... ... ng. tirip pu
10. *k* vadihati pu manū makudur pu manga.

FOOTNOTES

1. Hoepermans quoted in Verbeek, *Oudheden* p. 135.
2. Verbeek, *op. cit.* pp. 140-41; *Notulen* 28 (1890) pp. 11, 52; *Rapp.* 1911 p. 60; Damais, *TBG*, 83 (1949) p. 4; *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 34.
3. *OJO* p. 10.
4. According to him, *op. cit*, the date corresponds to 10. 6. 863 A.D.
5. *TBG* 53 (1911) p. 243.
6. *TBG* 70 (1930) p. 161.
7. Read: Śaka°
8. Read: Jyaiṣṭha°

XXVII

THE STONE OF VANUA TĒNGAH 11 (Caṇḍi Argapura II) 785 Śaka.

This record is almost identical with the preceding inscription. This inscription, even as the previous one, is somewhat interesting from linguistic point of view, to which attention has been invited by Damais in *BEFEO* 47 (1955) P. 28 f.n. 3. Prints of this inscription are preserved under no. 177 and 118 in the Archaeological. Department. Below is given the transcription of this record. It has been published in the *BEFEO* cited above.

TEXT

1. svasti śakavarṣāīīta 785 jiṣṭamāsa tithi pañcami kṛṣṇapakṣa pa. ka. vṛ vāra ha
2. na yy umaḥnya tatkāla rakarayān pikatan pu manuko manusuk ṣema ri vanua tangngaḥ
3. savaḥ ri kasugihan barih tallu viniḥnya satu vatang hamat ratu tatkāla rakarayān
4. kayuvangi pu lokapāla patiḥ rakarayān vka pu manūt. sirikan pu bahā. halaran
5. pu vīryya. panggil hyang pūta...(...). tiruan pu ... pi. si -a-a- pu... ...ñja manguhuri pu ... i. dalina
6. n pu *dh*na ... ... vadibati pu manū. makudur pu manga.

XXVIII

THE STONE OF KURAMBITAN (KRAPJAK) 7—ŚAKA

This inscribed *liṅga* was discovered about the beginning of 1933 from *ḍukuh* Krapjak of the district of Magēlang-Kotta, in the regency of Magēlang in Kēdu. [1] At present it is in the courtyard of Mas Cakraminarso in the *ḍukuh* Pandean of the *dɛsa* called Pɪngonan. The inscription in four lines is written round the cylindrical upper portion of the *liṅga*. The top of the *liṅga*. being somewhat damaged, two year-numerals are not decipherable. The script is Old-Javanese. Dr. Stutterheim says [2] that this inscription must be older than that of Caṇḍi Asu which was issued in the Caitra of 796 Śaka.[3] The record has been published by Stutterheim [4] with text, translation, facsimile and explanatory notes.

TEXT

‖ svasti śakavaṛṣāti'a [5] 7 ... ... śuklapakṣa paniruan pahing vṛhaspati vāra hana ri umaḥnya revatī nakṣatra variyā [6] yoga tatkāla ni savah i kurambittan tampaḥ 3 sinusuk si pamgat tiru raṇu pu apus sima ni dharmma nira i salingsingan

TRANSLATION

Hail ! The Śaka year expired, ... , (the month of ...), (··· ... th) day of the bright half of the month, *paniron*, [7] *pahing*, [8] Thursday, (the planet) in its proper house, the lunar mansion Revatī, the conjunction of Varīyan. That is the time when a *savah*-field of Kurambittan, [9] (measuring) 3 *tampah-s*, was marked out by the *Pamgat* of Tiru ranu [10] (named) *pu* Apus into a free-hold for his *dharmma* [11] at Salingsingan.

FOOTNOTES

1. *TBG*, 74 (1934) p. 85.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
3. According to Damais, (*BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 36) the year is 791 (?), the exact date bearing 21st April, 869 A.D.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-93.
5. Read : °tīta
6. Read : varīyān.
7. A Mal.- Polynesian day of the six-day week.
8. A Mal.- Polynesian day of the five-day week.
9. Stutterheim says (*op. cit.* p. 86, f. n. 2) that a *desa* Krambetan is know to be in Salaman (Inv. 878).
10. In *OJO* XI, 796 Śaka (caitra), *Pu* Apus is called *Pamgat hino*, which probably indicates a higher rank than that of *pamgat tiru ranu*. See also Damais in BEFEO 46 (1952) p 36 f.n. 3.
11. Dharmma may mean 'funerary temple, religious foundation.' Probably the former has been intended here, though the second meaning is also quite possible.

XXIX

INSCRIPTION OF CAṆḌI ABANG, DATED 794 ŚAKA.

This record has been transcribed by Stutterheim in *Djawa*, 12 (1932) P. 293 with a photo, but he read the year as 796 Śaka. The record has also been printed on P. 29 of *BEFEO*, 47 (1955). According to Damais, the date of the record is 794 Śaka and it corresponds to 29th August, 872 A.D. The import of the first line is not however clear.

TEXT

1. paki hūṃ jaḥ
2. svasti śavarṣātīta
3. 794 bhadravādamāsa
4. tithi caturthī kṛṣṇapakṣa
5. vu ka *ang*
6. ka

XXX
THE COPPER-PLATE OF TUNAHAN, (POLENCAN I) DATED 794 ŚAKA.

This inscription has been preserved in the Museum of Yogyakarta ; its estampage bears no. 2868 and photo no OD 13691. Damais has published the initial lines in *BEFEO*, 47 (1955) p. 30. The date of the inscription, according to him, corresponds to 14th Jan., 873 A.D. It has not yet been edited.[1] It refers to the time of Śrī Mahārāja rakai Kayuvangi.

TEXT

1. // O// svasti śakavarṣātīta 794 māgha-māsa dvādaśi śuklapakṣa
   mavulu. umanis budhavāra tatkāla rakarayān i sirikan
2. pu rakap. dinmakan dui śrī mahārāja rakai Kayuvangi ri kanang
   sukat kahulunan ing tunahan lmaḥ i mamali. mangasĕakan ra
3. karayān pasamvaḥ i śrī mahārāja ··· ... ...

TRANSLATION

1. //O// Hail ! The Śaka year past. 794, the month of Māgha, twelfth day of the bright half of the month, *mavulu*[2] , *umanis*[3] , Wednesday. At that time the *rakarayān* of sirikan (named)
2. Pu Rakap was rewarded by Śrī Mahārāja, the Raka of Kayuvangi, with the crown lands extending over Tunahan (and) lands at Mamali. The recipient
3. *Rakarayān* made obeisance to Śrī Mahārāja·····

FOOTNOTES

1. See also Stutterheim in *OV* 1938, p. 19; Van Naerssen in *Cultureel Indie*, 1939, p. 158.
2. Mal-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
3. Mal-Polynesian day of the five-day week.

XXXI
COPPER-PLATES OF VAHARU (KĔBOAN PASAR), 795 ŚAKA.

Two copper-plates received from Kĕboan pasar of the Sida-arja division of the residency of Surabaya [1] were surmised by Dr. Brandes to have belonged to Central Java.[2] The second face of both the plates represent the selfsame text. They are now deposited at the Jakarta museum [3] where they are numbered E.3.

The inscription was transcribed by Holle [4] as early as 1883, but this edition was considerably improved upon by Dr. Brandes in his reading of the text in OJO No. IX. The first few lines of this inscription have also been published by Damais in *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 31. Brandes[5] says that the script of this inscription and its outward appearance betray the peculiarities of Central Java; the contents have also some similarity with those of a Central Javanese charter. As the plates have been obtained from Eastern Java, Dr. Brandes conjectures that these were taken by some one or other to a region where they did not originally belong. Dr Krom, [6] however, has expressed doubt about the appropriateness of the above statements, as the place-names which appear in this inscription, above all Vaharu, [7] where a freehold is established, refer to the region of the find-spot in Eastern Java. Whatever may be the exact find-spot, there are circumstances which necessitate a cautious utilisation of the data of this record.

The inscription records the foundation of a free-hold at Vaharu by *Sang hadyan* Kuluptiru. According to Damais[8] the date of the record corresponds to 20th April, 873 A. D.

TEXT

1a. svastiśakavarṣātita [9] 795 vaiśākhamāsa tithi pañcami[10] kṛṣṇapakṣa, mā, pa,ca , manahil mūlanakṣatra siddhiyoga, [11] tatkāla [12] sang hadyankuluptiru kapvānakan rakryan tolobong (?) manusuk sīma

lmaḥ vaharu piṇḍa ni ukurnya lima(ng) tampaḥ. hinganya vetan irikang ing *kalor*, hinganya kidul tngahing lmaḥ, hinganya kulvan satapĕlvatĕs lāvan i [13] ganting, hinganya lor ing *kuluvur* parṇnahanya sima kalilirana dening anak putu buyut santāna pratisantāna sang hadyan kuluptiru umadĕgi siranpanusuk sima, samgat mpu pāji avak[14] vanva vḍihan sayugala haḍangan prana[15] tunggal savaḥ matanḍa sinungan mā 8 sovang sovang muvaḥ dṛbya rakryan mangaran ganṭi manusuk 2 pangurang pangkur mangaran pu kira mangaran rakryan kabeḥ mangaran gintu ntal parujar patiḥ sinungan mā 2 vḍihan sayugala ri vinkas ali(h) niran, panusuk sīma, i pan n vinkas mangaran saṇḍi mapangiring marangke mangaran bukit, tuhalas mangaran ya i pameyan vinkas mangaran murah mapangiring suruhan mangaran han para pinggir siring, i kuvu vinkas buyut baloga mapangiring mangaran suratha, suruhan mangaran manu, i pamasangan winkas mangaran dhīman, mapangiring suruhan mangaran lakvan, kabayan mangaran madas mapangiring mangaran samuru kambang, ing kĕlaran kabayan mangaran galanggang mapangiring suruhan mangaran kabayan mangaran suruhan pa suruhan manga

b. ṇikan, maṇiga sikpan rumbān vilang vanva, viji kavaḥ, tingkĕs, māvī, sanghiran[16] tuha dagang, juru gusali, mangrumbai, mangguñje, tuhanambi, tuha juḍi, tuhan huñjĕman, juru jalir, pab(i)sar,[17] pavungkunung, pulung paḍi, miśra hino, vli vadung, vli tambang, vli pañjut, vli harĕng, palamak, pakalungkung, tpung kavung, sungsung pasukalas, payungan sipat vilut, jukung panginangin, pamāvasya, hopan, panrānjan[18] skar takun[19] kḍi valyan, vidu mangidung, mapajahi[20], sambal, sumbul, hulun haji vatek i jro ityevanmādi kabeḥ tan katamāna ikanang sīma, mangkana ikang sukhaduḥkha kadyanggāning mayang tanpavvaḥ, valu rumambat ing natar, vangke kabunan, rāḥ katĕmu ring havan, vākcapala hastacapala duhilatĕn amijilkĕn vuryya ning kikir amuk amungpang, ludan, tutan angśa pratyangśa ḍaṇḍa kodaṇḍa[21] maṇḍihalādi tka ring laku lakvan adohaparĕ *pula vangkir* sagĕm sarakut, sakupang sātak palavang pahavuhavu *tungga* (?) narapati bhupati pobhaya saprakara[22]

kabeḥ, tka ring sukla[23] duḥkha an tan katapaka ataḥ sima sang hadyan kuluptiru irikā kunang ikang miśra manavung[24] mañimbul[25], manglakha mangapus, mamahang, mangubar, matarub, manggula, mangdyun, manghapu, manula vungkuḍu, manglurung, magave rungki, payung vlu, mopiḥ, makajang, mabubut, manganamanam mamisaṇḍung manuk, pakalangkang tka ring paṇḍai vsi, paṇḍai mas, paṇḍai dang, paṇḍai kavat, an sang hadyan kuluptiru ataḥ pramāna ri dṛbyahajinya, tka ri vkavetnira, irikang kāla mangassikĕn[26] ta sang hadyan kul(u)ptiru taḍaḥ irikang paglaran mveḥ manaḍaha irika sang sama hinanākĕn sakrama ning manaḍaḥ ring (dangu) umangsö ta jnu skar manabĕḥ tang mapaḍahi, mangkana rasa ning prasāsti[27] sang hadyan kuluptiru kunang ri sḍanganyan han(a) sira lamlam mangapakariḥ lumĕbura kasutantrā[28] ning sīma sang hadyan kuluptiru yan brahmaṇa[29], kṣatriya, vaisya[30], sudra[31], sajanmanya, yāvat ya durācāra umulahulaha kasutantran[32] sima sang hadyan kuluptiru salvir ni pañcamahāpātaka bhuktinya ring ihatra paratra pjaha tan panggiha ng sama i vruha nira kabeḥ prayatna ‖ o ‖

II. *a*. apak, pañarikan mangaran batu kaṇḍut pārvata, *jamval*, ahuler mangaran adu, agale mangaran lapan, makadi[33] vinkas mangaran pāṇḍava, samangkana kveh (ni) rāmanta i vaharu prasiddha sākṣat[34] hastadhāra, tumarima ikang pirak pangumbas sang hadyan kuluptiru ikang lmaḥ mahāpiṇḍa, mā kā 38, variga ikang[35] kāla *gala*, apaḍahi mangaran nu'ad, paḍasin mā 2 vḍihan sayugala sovang sovang tinakvakĕn rāmanta i vaharu makabehan, tan vīl donya, tan sangga ruginya tke. batavasanya kabaiḥ ma ḍir atĕhĕr tekang sima kasutantrān[36], tan katamana deni sakvaiḥ nimangilala ḍrbya haji, vuluvulu paravulu, buñcang haji, saprakāra ning mangila'a ḍrbya haji ring dangu pangkur, tavan, tirip, patiḥ vahuta rāma, miśra paramiśra, pangurang kring, paḍĕm, manimpiki, paranakan, limus galuh, mangiñci, manghuri, sungka dhura, padavukan haji[37] vatu tajĕm, sukun, halu varak, rakadut, pingilai[38] katanggaran, erhaji, malandang, lĕ a, lbĕlb, kalangkang, kutak, tangkil, salyut, vatu kalang, pama[39] nikan, maṇiga, sikpan, rumban, vilang vanwa, viji kavaḥ, tingkĕs, māvī, tanghiran, tuha dagang, juru gusali, mangrumbai, mangguñje, tuha (juḍi), tuhān huñjĕman, juru jalir, pabsar, pavungkunung, pulung paḍi, miśra hino, vli vadung, vli

tambang, vli pañjut, vli harĕng palamak, pakalungkung, uiutan, tpung kavung, sungsung pangurang, pasukalas, payungan, sipat vilut, jukung, panginangin, pamavasya, bopan, pa , skar tahun, kḍi, valyan, mapaḍahi vidu mangidung, sambal sumbul, hulun haji, vatĕk i jro ityevamādi kabeḥ tan katamāna ikanang sima[40], mangkana ikang sukba dukha kadyangga ning mayang tampa[41] (vvah) (valu) rumambat ing natar vangkay kabunan, raḥ katĕmu ring havan, vākcapala, hastacapala, duhilatĕn amijilakĕn vuryya ning kikir, amuk amungrang, ludan tutan angśapratyangśa daṇḍa kuḍaṇḍa maṇḍihalādi tka ring lakulakvan adoh aparĕ, *pula-vangkir*, sagĕm sarakut, sakupang satak, palavang, pabavuhavu nayaka bhupati,[42] pobhaya saprakāra kabeḥ, tka ring sukha dukha[43] sakeng alaranya tan katapaka ataḥ sima sang hadyan kuluptiru irika, kunang ikang misra[44] ma manglakha, mangapus, mamabang, materub, ma la, mangdyūn, manghapū, manulavungkuḍu, manglurung, magave rungki, payung vlu, mopiḥ, makjang, mamubut manganamanam, manavang, manahib, mamisandung[45] manuk, maka tka ring mapaṇḍai vsi, mapaṇḍai mās, mapaṇḍai dang, mapaṇḍai kavat, an sang hadyan kuluptiru ataḥ pramaṇa[46] ring dṛbya hajinya tka ri savkanira, irikang kāla mangisyĕkĕn[47] ta sang hadyan kuluptiru taḍaḥ irikang paglaran maveḥ manaḍaha irika sang ama hinanakĕnira, sakrama nira ring dangu umangsö ta jun[48] skar manabĕḥ

ta sang maraḍahi, mangkana rasa ning prasasti[49] sang hadyan kuluptiru, kunang ri sdanganyan hana sira lamlām mangapakariḥ lumĕbura kasutantran[50] ning sīma sang hadyan kuluptiru yan brahmaṇa[51] kṣatriya vaisya[52] (śūdra), (sajanmanya) (yāva)t ya durācara[53] umulahulaha kas(va)tantran sima sang hadyan kuluptiru salvir ning pañcamahāpātaka bhuktinya ring ihatra paratra pjaha tan pamanggiha i vruha nira kabaiḥ prayatna ‖0‖

TRANSLATION.

1a. Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 795, the month of Vaiśākha, fifth day of the dark half of the month, *mavulu*,[54] *paḥing*,[55] - ··· ... ... *manahil*,[56] the lunar mansion (being) Mūla, (during) the conjunc-

tion of Siddha. At that time, *sang hadyan*[57] Kuluptiru, the nephew of *rakryan* Tolobong (?)[58], marked out a free-hold in the ground of Vaharu. The total measurement of it is five *tampah*-s. It borders in the east with Kalor (?) ; it borders in the south with the middle of the ground (of Kalor ?) ; it borders in the west with an image (on the) boundary and with Ganting ; it borders in the north with Kuluvur. (This is) the position of the free-hold.....which is to be inherited by the sons, grandsons, great grandsons (and) further progeny of *sang hadyan* Kuluptiru. (The following persons) stood by in the marking out of the free-hold : the *samgat*····· *mpu*[59] Pāji, resident of.....(received) one pair of clothes (and) one buffalo····· the *mataṇḍa* ···received *māṣa* 8, each in particular, and other things. The *rakryan* named Ganṭi···marked out···the *pangurang*, the *pangkur* named·····*Pu* Kira, all (those who are) titled *rakryan*-s, (the person) named Gintu·····the *parujar* of the *patiḥ*[60] received *māṣa* 2, one pair of clothes·····both[61] the *vinkas*-es of him who marked out the free-hold···the *vinkas* of···named Saṇḍi having in (his) retinue the *marangkaḥ*[62] named Bukit (and) the *tuhalas* named·····the *vinkas* of Pameyan named Murah having in (his) retinue thes *uruhan*[63] named·····(and) other persons of neighbouring villages, the *vinkas* of the village (who is ?) *bayut* Bulog having in (his) retinue (the person) named Suratha (and) the *suruhan* named Manu, the *vinkas* of Pamasangan named Dhiman having in (his) retinue the *suruhan* named Lakvan, the *kabayan* named Madas having in (his) retinue (the person) named Samuru ·····the *Kabayan* of Kĕlaran named Galanggang having in (his) retinue the *suruhan* named ... ... the *kabayan* named the *suruhan* the *suruhan* named

b (*pama*)*ṇikan*, *maṇiga*, *sikpan*, *rumbān*, *vilang vanwa*, *viji kavaḥ*, *tingkĕs*,[64] *māvi*, *tanghiran*, *tuha dagang*, *juru gusali*, *mangrumbai*, *manggunje*, *tuhanambi*, *tuha juḍi*, *tuhan hanjĕman*, *juru jalir*, *pab*(*i*)*sar*, *pavungkunung*, *pulung paḍi*, *misra hino*, *vli vadung*, *vli tambang*, *vli pañjut*, *vli harĕng*, *palamak*, *pakalungkung*,[65] *tpung kavung*, *sungsung pangurang*, *pasukalas*, *payungan*,[66] *sipat vilut*, *jukung*, *panginangin*,[67] *pamāvasya*, *hopan*, *panrāngan*, *skar tahun*, *kḍi*, *valyan*, *vidu*, *mangidung*, *mapaḍahi*, *sambal sumbul*, *hulun haji*, *vatĕk i jro*, etc., all ! The free-hold may not be interfered with (by them) ; so also (its) good and bad incidents, such as : the *arĕca*-blossom that bears no fruit, the pumpkin

that creeps along the ground, corpse bedewed, blood found on the way, rashness in speech, rashness with hands, swallowing one's spittle, uncovering of (magically forged) weapons from behind, *amok*-making, molestation (of women) *ludan* (?), *tutan* (?), even in the smallest proportion, (and) all sorts of punishments for reviling. (The free-hold may not also be interfered with) by the arrival of people who go[68] far and near to receive by force one *kupang* (and) one *atak* (as feudal dues) for procuring the pleasures of the foremost (?) of the rulers of the earth, *pobhaya-s*[69] (and) all such people. Regarding the good and bad incidents (of the free-hold)...these may not be interfered with : only the free-hold of *sang hadyan* Kuluptiru (is the sole authority)[70] over these. As regards the chiefs (?)[71] in the making of *tavang*-net (?), black-paints, lac, spinning (?), lights, red paints (?), roofs, sugar pots, lime, fishing with *vungkuḍu*, iring roads, the making of *rungki*[72], linen um- of differents colours, (the umbrella of) leaf-sheath[73], brella bed-covers and pillows, all sorts of wicker-works, the ensna- *kajang*[74], birds, *kalangkang*,·····up to iron-smiths, gold-smiths, smiths ring of etal-made ?) cooking pots, smiths of iron-wires : regarding (them), *sang hadyan* Kuluptiru, including his sons and de[illegible]s the only authority over their royel charges. At this time, is *sang hadyan* Kuluptiru offered food-stuffs to the scattered c mpany (and) fed[75] such persons as were allowed to be present, according to the tom of feeding from earlier times. Thereupon went forward cus (with) paints (and) flowers the *mapaḍahi* to play music[76]. Such are the contents of the edict of *sang hadyan* Kuluptiru. And meanwhile, if ous and mischievous person who destroys there is any covet of *sang hadyan* Kuluptiru, be he the independence of the free-hold Śudra, whatever may be his a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya Vaiśya, vio'ates the independ of the free- caste, when that unrighteous person may experience (t ence he hold of *sang hadyan* Kuluptiru, he and in the next, (yea), he punishments) of all the five great sins[77] in this world Cognisance must be t may die witho t finding (any) relief aken of this by all with due care ed)

IIa *pañarikan*[78] named Batu Kaṇḍut, the *pārvata*[79] (nam Jamval (?), the *ahuler*[80] named Adu, the *agale*[81] named Lapan, having at their head the *vinkas* named Pāṇḍava. Such is the namber of the

famous *rāmanta*-s of Vaharu who personally took in their own hands and receiv.d the money as sale-price (from) *sang hadyan* Kuluptiru (for) the lands (of the free-hold), the grand total (of the sum being) gold 38 *karṣa*. The *variga* of the time (viz.) Gala, the *apaḍahi* named Nulad simi'arly (received) gold (?)[82] 2 *māṣa* (and) one set of cloth, each in particu'ar. (The land) was (thus) given up by the *rāmanta*-s of Vaharu, altogether, without (nursing) any evil design for it : neither for discontinuing (nor) destroying (anything) of it, including all [illegible]. stone (?)[83] buildings ... Henceforward is the free-hold independent (and) may not be trod upon by all 'collectors of royal taxes,' the *vuluvulu, puravu'u, buñcang haji*[84] (and) all sorts of 'collectors of royal taxes' from earlier times, the *pangkur, tavan, tirip patih, vahuta, rāma, miśra, paramiśra, pangurang, kring, paḍĕm, manimpiki, puranakan, limus galuh, mangriñci, manghuri, sungka, dhura, padavukan*,[85] *haji* (?),[86] *vatu tajĕm, sukun, halu varak, rakadut*,[85] *pinglai, katanggaran, erhaji, malandang, lĕca, lĕbĕlĕb, kalangkang, kutak, tangkil, salyut, vatu kalang*,[87] *pamanikan, maṇiga*[88]

FOOTNOTES

1. *Notulen* 20 (1882) pp. 17, [illegible]
2. *TBG* 32 (1888) p. 112 f n.
3. *Notulen*, 1911, Bijl. II
4. *TBG*, 28 (1883) pp. 483 ff
5. *Catalogus Groeneveldt*, p. [illegible]
6. *Geschiedenis*, pp. 161-162.
7. Over the topographical particulars of different Vaharu-inscriptions, see Van Stein Callenfels in *Feesth. Pat. Gen.* II (1929) pp 382-389.
8. *BEFEO*, 46 (1952) p. 37.
9. Read : °tīta.
10. Read : °mī.
11. Read : siddha°
12. Previously read as : °kala.
13. The use of these words is not happy.

14. Read : anak.
15. Read : prāṇa.
16. Read : ta°.
17. Var. °bĕsar, °bisir etc.
18. Read : °rāngan.
19. Read : °hun.
20. Read : °ḍahi.
21. Read : ku °
22. Skt. °kāra.
23. Read : sukha.
24. Read : °vang.
25. Read : °ñĕm° or °ñam°.
26. Read : °asĕakĕn or °asvakĕn.
27. The correct Skt. form is : °śa°.
28. Read : °sva°.
29. The correct spelling is : brā°.
30. The correct spelling is : °śya°.
31. The correct spelling is : śū°.
32. Read : °sva°.
33. From Skt. : ādi
34. Skt : °kṣāt.
35. Read : rik°,
36. Read : °sva°.
37. Taji ?
38. Read : Pininglai *or* Pinglai.
39. The following portion=1, *b*.
40. From grammatical point of view, it is better to read here : ". . . . tan tama irikang . . ."
41. Read : °npa.
42. The correct Sanskrit form is : bhū.°
43. Skt. : duḥk°.
44. Usually written as °śra.
45. Usually written as °saṇḍu°.
46. Usually written as pramā°.
47. Read : °asĕa° or °asva°,
48. Read : jnu.
49. The correct Skt form is °śa°.
50. Read : °svat°.
51. The correct Skt. form is brā.°
52. The correct Skt. from is °śya.
53. Skt. form is °cā.°
54. A Mal.- Polynesian day of the six-day week.
55. A Mal.- Polynesian day of the five-day week.
56. The name of a *vuku*.
57. An honourable title. Itymologically it seems to be connected with *dyah*, a title connected with princely or high noble families.
58. Tuloḍong ?
59. The same as *Pu*.
60. or : . . . the *paṇjar*, the *patih* . . . This is, however, less probable.

61. I surmise *ali* to be a slip for *alih*.
62. The term may refer to the 'guard of the house !
63. An intendant.
64. His functions are not known.
65. His functions are not known. See however *TBG*, 65, p. 260.
66. The term may refer to the makers of umbrellas.
67. His functions are not known. See Stutterheim's note in *TBG*, 65, p. 262.
68. The term *laku lakvan* may correspond to *pinta(n) palakvan* which we find at this place in some other inscriptions. *cf OJO* CXVIII, 13-14.
69. The terms *pahavuhavu*, *bhupati*, (*pa*)*narapati* and *pobhaya* occurring above are found in a strange position in *OJO* LXIII : 3 *a-b*.
70. This filling up is suggested by a number of inscriptions.
71. Stutterheim (*TBG*, 65, p. 273) says that *miśra* may have the same significance as *juru*.
72. According to Juynboll ; *rungki*=sheath ?
73. Elsewhere we find, *payung upih*. *Payung vlu* and *mopih* generally go together.
74. It is deemed to be a kind of covering for the umbrella (?) See *TBG*, 65, p. 275. In the *History of the Ming dynasty* (1368-1643), we read : Their letters resemble those of the country Soli, they have no paper or pencils, but cut them on *kajang* leaves." This seems to be *Lontarus domestica*. The use of sharp knives for writing purpose on lonter leaves (elsewhere called *patra*-leaves) is also referred to elsewhere. Vide Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, p. 40, also pp. 52 58, 135
75. Lit. 'gave feeding to.'
76. Or : '. . . (they) went forward (to make toilette with) paints (and) flowers (while) the *mapaḍahi* began to play music.'
77. The five great sins are : (a) killing a Brāhmaṇa, (b) drinking wine, (c) stealing the gold of a Brāhmaṇa, (d) carnal commerce with a step-mother, and (e) living with such a rogue for one year.
78. The term may refer to a dyke-inspector.
79. His functions are not known. An inspector of hilly tracts ?
80. Inspector of Irrigations. See *TBG* 73 (1933) P. 100.
81. Apparently a class of people or officers.
82. Or, '.....(received) salt, (gold ?) 2 *māṣa*.....'Is *sin* a printing or copyist's mistake for *su* ? Otherwise, *paḍasin* is unknown to me.
83. *Bata*° may be a printing or copyist's mistake for *batu*°.
84. Officers charged to remove tenants ?
85. His functions are not known.
86. *Taji* ?
87. Apparently a class of people or officers. Stutterheim's remarks over this term in *TBG*, 65, P. 255 appear to be incorrect, as this title appears in several inscriptions.
88. The following portion = 1 *b*.

XXXII

THE PILLAR OF ŚRĪ MAṄGALA (CAṆḌI ASU), 796 ŚAKA

This pillar, standing between Caṇḍi Asu and Caṇḍi Lumbung in the Magĕlang division of the residency of Kĕdu, was discovered by Mr. Van Aalst[1] in 1896. An impression of this stone-inscription was thereupon sent to Jakarta and this now forms *Oudh. Bur.* no. 487[2]. After the discovery of the pillar, Dr. Brandes published a provisional information regarding the date of the inscription in the *Notulen* for 1896, p. 112. The inscription is not divided into lines but runs round the pillar.

The transcription of the record has been published in *OJO* XI, while Dr. Stutterheim[3] has published a translation of the same. Damais has also published a transcription of the first few lines.

It records the foundation of a personal funerary temple at Salingśingan by *Pu* Apus in 796 Śaka. According to Damais[4], the date coresponds to 24th March, 874 A.D.

TEXT

svasti śakavarṣātīta 796 cetramāsa[5] dvitīya[6] śuklapakṣa haryyang kalivuan buddhavāra[7] tithi[8] nakṣatra kṛtikā[9] tatkāla sang pamgat hino pu apus manusuk sīma lmaḥ dharmmanira i salingśingan pangidulnya patang puluh pat ḍpanya pangavetannya nmang[10] puluḥ pitu ḍpa pinanusukkakannya[11] savaḥ i Śrī maṅgala lāvān panghli irikang lmaḥ dharmmanira pakna nikana(ng) savaḥ kavadua hummā[12] i salingśingan sakṣī[13] rāmmanta[14] i salingśingan patiḥ kalang gusti variga vinkas parujar tuha vanuā muang rāma jātaka marhiyang[15] sthāpaka upakalpa kāyasthā devakarmma muang rāma i śrī maṅgala i vanua poḥ kapua sira vinaiḥ mamaḍaḥha[16] muang vḍihan matangya yāpuan hanna[17] umulaḥ ulaḥha[17] ikana(ng) dharmma dlāha ning dlāha pañcamahāpātaka muang saluir ni(ng) dukha[18] kapangguhannya.

TRANSLATION

Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 796, the month of Caitra, second day of the bright half of the month, *haryang*,[19] *kalivon*[20], Wednesday, *tithi*[21], the lunar mansion Kṛttikā. That is the time when the *pamgat* of Hino (named) *Pu* Apus marked out into a freehold (some) lands for his funerary temple at Salingśingan[22]. In the direction of the South, it is forty-four *ḍĕpa* (in measurement) ; in the direction of the East, it is sixty-seven[23] *ḍĕpa* (in measurement). A *savaḥ*-field was also marked out by him at Śrī Maṅgala[24] against the exchange of lands (acquired) for his funerary temple. The use of the *savaḥ*-field is to be for the dwelling-places (?)[25] of the united body of the *vaduа*-s[26] of Salingśingan. The witnesses are the *rāmanta*-s[27] of Salingśingan (:) *patiḥ, kalang, gusti, variga, vinkas, parujar, tuha vanuā* and *rāma jātaka*,[28] *marhyang*,[29] *sthāpaka*,[30] *upakalpa*,[31] *kāyastha*[32] and *Devakarmma*,[33] as also the *rāma*-s of Śrī Maṅgala and[34] Vanua poḥ. All of them obtained food-stuffs and clothes. The aim is that if there be any one who violates the funerary temple (at Salingśingan), he may suffer up to the remotest future (i. e. for ages) (the punishments accruing from) five great sins and all sorts of sorrows !

FOOTNOTES

1. *Notulen* 1896, p. 89.
2. *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 43.
3. *TBG*, 74, pp. 86-88.
4. *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 37.
5. In Old-Jav., *ai* is frequently interchanged by *e*.
6. The correct Skt. from is °yā.
7. Read : budha°.
8. This word is least demanded here.
9. Read : Kṛtti°.
10. rvang ? —Stutterheim.
11. In some of the comparatively older inscriptions, such as here, the consonants have been doubled. Is it geographical peculiarity ?
12. (h)umah ?
13. Skt : sākṣī.

14. The word is usually written as: rāmanta. Duplication of consonants is often found here.
15. It is usually spelt as: marhyang.
16. Read: manaḍaha.
17. See the note on pinanusukkakannya.
18. Skt: duḥkha.
19. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
20. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
21. The word has been wrongly used in a wrong place.
22. This funerary temple at Salingśingan may be one of the Caṇḍi-s of Asu and Lumbung, from the neighbourhood of which the present pillar has been discovered. *cf.* Krom: *Geschiedenis*, p. 180. As *dharmma* may also mean 'a religious foundation' its translation by 'funerary temple' is by no means final.
23. The text has *nmang*. See *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 31 tn. 3.
24. Over Śrī Maṅgala. See Goris in *TBG* 70 (1930) p. 169 and Stutterheim in *Ibid.*, 74 pp. 89 ff.
25. I consider *uma* stands for *umah* which excellently fits in with the context. For Stutterheim's surmise, see *op. cit.* p. 87 f.n. 2.
26. *Wadua* = the subordinate staff.
27. A distinction seems to be made between the *rāmanta*s of this place and the *rāmas* at the end of the sentence. Can the forms signify office-holders of the village and the latter simply village elders?
28. According to Stutterheim (*op. cit.*, p. 87, f.n. 5): a class of priests who conduct astrological calculations from the birth-time.
29. The Inspector of temples? See *TBG*, 73, p. 101.
30. The word *sthāpaka* occurs in the stone of Dinaja probably in the sense of a 'sculptor of images'. He might have some religious function too. *cf.* Stutterheim in *TBG*, 74, p. 87, fn. 5.
31. He may be a sort of assistant (to the priest?). See *Ibid.*
32. By *Kāyastha*, Stutterheim thinks of Bal. *pĕrmas* who are connected with religious functions. In Indian inscriptions, the term denotes 'scribes'.
33. By itself, the term is not sufficiently clear. It may refer to a 'class of religious functionaries or devotees in general.'
34. Or: '... ... ...ṛmaṅgala in Vanua Poh... ... .', but this is less probable.

XXXIII
THE PILLAR OF ANGGĔHAN (KLOROK), 796 ŚAKA

This *liṅga* was obtained by Pangeran Hadivijojo from a turf in the north of *desa* Klorok, South of Kṣatrian, subdivision of Gajamprit (Klaten). This *liṅga* which has an inscription on it has been preserved in the Srivedari Museum of Solo. The text of this inscription has been published in *OV*, 1925, p. 19 with corrections of Goris in *OV*, 1928, p. 64. It may also be seen in *BEFEO*, 47 (1955) p. 32. The Śaka year was read by Bosch as 856 and by Goris as 756. Damais[1] reads the year as 796 śaka. the exact date being 25th Feb., 875 A. D.

TEXT

1. ˥ svasti śakavarṣātīta 796[1a] phā
2. lguṇamāsa[2] tithi[3] pratipāda[4] kṛṣṇapa-
3. kṣa pa. po. śu. tatkāla sang pamgat
4. anggĕhan manusuk sīma.

TRANSLATION

Hail! The Śaka year expired, 796, the month of Phālguna, first day of the dark half of the month, *Paniron*[5], *Pon*[6], Friday,.....At that time the *pamgat anggĕhan*[7] marked out the freehold.

FOOTENOTES

1. *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 37.
1a. This was read as 856 in *OV*, 1925, p. 19.
2. Skt.: °guṇa°
3. Skt.: tithi

4. Skt. : °pada.
5. A Mal.-polynesian day of the six-day week.
6. A Mal.-polynesian day of the five-day week.
7. The proper name of this porson has not been stated in the inscription. In *OJO* XXXI (846 Śaka, from Surabaya), the holder of this title has been described as one of the two *Samgat momahumah-s*. Stutterheim has conjectured (*TBG* 65, p. 241, f.n. 59) that *Samgat momahumah=samgat* "of the dominion" or "of the royal house" and that *samgat* (=*pamgat*) *anggĕhan* was connected with finances. Though by no means certain, the root of the word *anggĕhan* (*gĕh*) seems to show that he was connected with the ratification (of land-grants).

XXXIV
COPPER-PLATE OF HUMAṆḌING (POLENGAN II), 797 ŚAKA

This record has been preserved in the Museum of Yogyakarta. Photo and estampage are respectively numbered OD 13692 and 2868. Damais published the transcription of the first few lines of this inscription in *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 32. The date, according to him, corresponds to 11th April, 875 A. D. The record has not yet been edited[1].

TEXT

1. *a* l. [illegible] ‖ svasti sakavarṣātīta 797 baiśākhamāsa. dvitīya śuklapakṣa. tunglai pon somavāra. tatkāla rakarayān i sirikan pu
2. rakap. manusuk savaḥ tampaḥ[4] i humaṇḍing vatak sirikan simā ni kanang prāsāda i gunung hyang lmaḥ i mamali. dmakan sangkā i Śrī ma
3. hārāja rakai kayuvangi. anung inangsĕan pasak pasak vyavastha ning manusuk ṣīma ‖ ...

TRANSLATION

1. *a*. 1. [illegible] ‖ Hail, The Śaka year expired, 797, the month of Baiśākha, second day of the bright half of the month, *tunglai*[2], *pon*[3], Monday. At that time, the *rakarayān* of sirikan (viz) *Pu*
2. Rakap marked off the field (measuring) *tampah* 4 at Humaṇḍing under Sirikan (into) a freehold for the *prāsāda*[4] at Gunung Hyang. The land at Mamali was a gift originating from Śrī
3. Mahārāja rakai Kayuvangi. These (persons) received different objects according to the custom of marking out free-holds. ‖

FOOTENOTES

1. See also Stutterheim, *OV* 1938 p. 19.
2. Mal.- Polynesian day of the six-day week.
3. Mal.- Polynesian day of the five-day week.
4. Religious foundation.

XXXV
THE COPPER-PLATE OF JURUNGAN (POLENGAN III)
798 ŚAKA.

This record has been kept in the Museum of Yogyakarta. Photo and estampage are respectively numbered OD 13695 and 2868. Transcription of the first few lines of this record has been published by Damais in *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 33. It is dated in 789 Śaka, the exact date being, according to him, 30th December, 876 A. D. The record has not yet been edited[1].

TEXT

1. ‖ svasti śakavarṣātīta 798 poṣyamāsa. ekādaśi śuklapakṣa mavulu pahĩng ādityavāra. tatkāla rakarayān
2. i sirikan pu rakap manusuk lmaḥ ning sukat i jurungan vatak pagar vsi. sĩmā nikanang prāsāda i gunung hyang. luā nikanang lmaḥ an sa
3. mpun ginavai savaḥ tampaḥ 6 muang.....

TRANSLATION

1. ‖ Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 798 the month of Pauṣa, eleventh day of the bright half of the month, *mavulu*,[2] *pahing*,[3] Sunday. At that time, the rakarayān
2. of Sirikan (viz.) *Pu* Rakap marked out the land of Sukat at Jurungan under Pagar Vsi. (This is) the free-hold of the *prāsāda* at Gunung Hyang. The extent of the land which was
3. thereupon given was *savaḥ*-lands (measuring) *tampah* 6 and.....

FOOTNOTES

1. See also Stutterheim in *OV* 1938, p. 19
2. Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
3. Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.

XXXVI
THE COPPER-PLATE OF HALIVANGBANG (POLENGAN IV)
799 ŚAKA.

This record has been preserved in the Museum of Yogyakarta. Its photo and estampage are respectively numbered OD 13701 and 2868. Stutterheim[1] read the date of this inscription as 790 Śaka, but Van Naerssen[2] read it as 799. Damais[3] confirms the reading of Van Naerssen and says that the date corresponds to 22nd November, 877 A D. It has not yet been properly edited. The first few lines have been transcribed by Damais in *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 33. The record refers to the marking off certain lands of Sukat by the Rakarayān of Sirikan viz. *Pu* Rakap, apparently to create a freehold for the *vihāra* of Halivangbang. The king at that time was *Rake* Kayuvangi.

TEXT

1. ‖ svasti śakavarṣātīta 799 mārggaśiramāsa trayodaśi śuklapakṣa. vurukung vagai śukravāra. tatkāla rakarayān i sirikan pu rakap
2. sumusuk ikanang lmaḥ Sukat kahulunan i mamali dmakan sarggā i śrī mahārāja rakai kayuvangi. muang vuara ta lmaḥ i halivang-bang.....

FOOTNOTES

1. *OV*, 1938, p. 19.
2. *Cultureel Indië* I, 1939, p. 158.
3. *BEFEO*, 46 (1952) p. 38

XXXVII
THE COPPER-PLATE OF PINTANG MAS, 800 ŚAKA.

The find-spot of this copper-plate is not known[1]. It was purchased from the legacy of Mr. Millies in March, 1905, and is now preserved at the Library of the University at Leiden[2]. The plate measures 33 x 13 c m. The corner of the upper left margin being damaged, 6 initial letters of the inscription can not be read now.

The inscription records how the *rāmanta*-s of Kapuhunan were relieved of their taxes for the free-hold at Pintang-mas. It also regulates how *dyaḥ* Puṭu and his descendants shall conduct the religious services of god Haricandana when the time for worship comes.

The reading and translation of this record have been published by Poerbatjaraka in *Agastya*, pp. 74-76. According to Damais[2a], the date of this inscription corresponds to 1st August, 878 A.D.

TEXT

1. (svasti śakavar)ṣaṟīta[3] 800 śravaṇamāsa[4] tithī[5] trayodaśi[6] kṛṣṇa-pakṣa, pa, u śu vāra, tatkāla dyaḥ puṭu dinulur deni rāma nira i kapuhunan, juru pu go
2. .....tuhavanua sang ādikā, muang sang subha, muang sang tarā sang garyya, daṇḍa si kuping. nāhan kvaih rāmanta dumulur dyaḥ puṭu kālanyan pinuput pamuat ni
3. simanira i pintang-mas, kāla pitāmaha ing kailāśa vineh i mangulihi. kunang parbhaktyanya i bhaṭāra śrī haricandana kayatnākna nira muang anakvka
4. nira katka dlaha, tan pīṭhā i tkani kapūjān bhaṭāra haricandana ing trisamvatsarādi, prasama buka pintu mangasĕakna ya pasang bras tahilan

5. 1 muang phalāphalinya i bhaṭāra. muvah tkani kapūjān bhaṭāra buatthyang pisan ing satahun mapuñjunga sira agavaya annalingga pamujā i bha
6. ṭāra brahmā. muvah mārgaśiramāsa makhakāla mangasĕakna ya pasang bras tahilan 1 muang phalāphalinya i bhaṭāra haricandana. manamvah
7. dyah puṭu, mangasĕakan sira mas mā 2 7 vḍihan yu 1 i samgat tiruan pu sapi, samgat mangulihi. pitāmaha ing kailāśa vineh vḍihan yu 1
8. mas ma 2, tuhān i mangulihi pagarvsi sang ḍaṇa[8] varangan, vineh vḍihan yu 1 mas mā 2 tarumangamvil[9] ḍapunta pula vineh vḍihan yu 1 mas[10] 2
9. sang karangka, tunggu rumah i jamvu vineh vḍihan yu 1 mas mā 2 tatra sakṣi[11] pitāmaha bhagavanta makabaihan, muang sang talahantan kalih, ḍapunta vgi
10. 1 ḍapunta mayangka, rāma i bunhamas kalih sang karanghulu sang aḍuti, parujar si padmini, juru i ḍihyang pu maṇḍing, pasingar sang palungan, mu
11. ang sang nalī[12], sang prabhī, pasak kinabehanira pirak mā 8. likhita sang pangurang sang triyur tungtung kapvoliha pirak mā 2 ॥ jagatāṃ sarvvato bhadra, vara
12. n dasyasi sāmpratam । asmāsu sakaleṣvaiva asāmānyopalabvyaye ॥ nāveśyāḥ darśano badvyaḥ nirvvaṇaḥ pānyakas tathā । ahṛto bhaiṣajan vaiva sarvve te matar ubjitaḥ ॥ brahmaṇī gariṇī tatvam anāryyam vihīnaṃ tathā । yadvat papaṃ mahat prāpya । tadvat maccha śapāt papāt.

TRANSLATION

1. (Hail ! The Śaka year) expired, 800, the month of Śrāvaṇa, thirteenth day of the dark half of the month, *paniron*[13], *umanis*[14], Friday. That is the time when *dyaḥ*[15] Puṭu was accompanied by the *rāma*-s of Kapuhunan : the *juru* (viz.) *Pu* Go

2. .....the *tuha vanua-s* (viz.) *Sang* Ādkā and *Sang* Subha and *Sang* Tarā, *Sang* Garyya (and) the *daṇḍa*[16] (viz.) *Si* Kuping. Now all such *rāmanta-s* who accompanied *dyaḥ* Puṭu at that time were relieved

3. of their tribute for their free-hold at Pintang-mas ; at the time, the *pitāmaha* of Kailāśa[17] was (also) endowed with (the lands of) Mangulihi. But he (i.e., Puṭu) must pay respects to the god, the auspicious Haricandana who has to be looked after by him as well as by his descendants

4. up to the remotest future. They must not sit idly[18] with the arrival of (the time of) worshipping god Haricandana once in three years and so forth. They must keep their doors (or, the doors of the temple) open (and) shall present as offering unbolstered rice 1 *tahil*[19]

5. and different kinds of fruits, to the god. Moreover, with the arrival of the deity's worship-time (called) *buat hyang*[20] once in each year, he (or, they) must show respects (and) make rice-cone (*anna-liṅgga*) for the worship of god

6. Brahmā[21]. Moreover, the month of Mārgaśira is the festal period[22] when have to be placed unbolstered rice 1 *tahil* and different kinds of fruits as offerings to god Haricandana.

7. *Dyaḥ* Puṭu (now) offers respects (to them). He presents gold 2 [23] *māṣa* and 1 set of clothes to the *samgat tiruan* (viz.) *Pu* Sapi. The *samgat* of Mangulihi[24] (viz.) the *pitāmaha* of Kailāśa received 1 set of clothes (and)

8. gold 2 *māṣa*. The *tuhān* of Mangulihi : the *pagarvsi*[25] (viz,) *Sang* Ḍaṇa (or Ḍapo [26]) Varangan received 1 set of clothes (and) gold 2 *māṣa*. The *ḍapunta* Pula of Tarumangamvil[27] received 1 set of clothes (and) gold 2 *māṣa*.

9. *Sang* Karangka, the guard of the house of Jamvu received 1 set of clothes (and) gold 2 *māṣa*. Witnesses thereof are all the *pitāmaha-s*, *bhagavanta-s*[28] and both the *talahantan-s*[29] (viz.) *ḍapunta* Vĕgil

10. (and) *ḍapunta* Mayangka, both the *rāma-s* of Bunhamas (viz) *sang* Karanghulu (and) *sang* Aḍuti. The *parujar* (viz) *Si* Pad-

mini, the *juru* of Ḍihyang (viz.) *Pu* Maṇḍing, the *pasingar*[30] (viz.) *sang* Palungan, and

11. *sang* Nalī (?), *sang* Prabhī, all of them received together 8 *māsa*. The scribes (viz.) Pangurang, Triyur, Tungtung[31] must similarly receive silver 2 *māsa*. ॥ Let there[32] be welfare in all places of the world ! At present

12. bestow boon on all of us, so that we may obtain the highest excellence. ॥ .....[33] when great sins come upon (us), then relieve (us) of curses and sins !

FOOTNOTES

1. From the geographical data of the inscription, the record appears to be connected with the Diĕng-region. *cf.* Krom in *Meded. Kon. AK. V. Wet. Afd. Lett.*, 58 (1924) p. 222.
2. Juynboll, *Suppl.*, I, p. 107.
2a. BEFEO, 46 (1952) p. 39
3. Read :° ṣā°.
4. Read : °śrā.
5. Read : °thi,
6. Read : °śī.
7. All along this inscription, Poerbatjaraka gives the alternative reading of 4 for 2. According to Damais in BEFEO, 46 (1952) p. 33 f.n. 2, the cipher is 2-all along.
8. Or : ḍapo [P].
9. Perhaps we have to read : turu°. See note on the translation.
10. Probably the word *ma* has to be inserted hereafter, and the omission appears to be due to a slip.
11. Read : sākṣī.
12. Or : nakhī [P].
13. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.

14. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
15. The title denotes members of noble families.
16. An officer of the village-court ?
17. After considering the data of some inscriptions and the evidence of the *Tantu Panggĕlaran*, Poerbatjaraka enunciates the hypothesis that this place has to be sought in Kĕdu or in the royal quarters. For further details, see *Agastya*, p. 76 f.n. 1. It is not however clear if Mangulihi of this passage is the name of a person or locality. As no question of compensation has cropped up, it is likely to be the name of a place.
18. This serves to show that the worship of Haricandana was falling into disuse. This will be more clear from *KO* XX which has also been edited in this volume. For full particulars, see *Meded. Kon. AK. V. Wet. Lett.*, 58 (1924) pp. 222-224; *Agastya*, pp. 76-80. This deity is otherwise unknown. Poerbatjaraka's identification of him with Agastya is unconvincing.
19. A kind of measurement.
20. Lit. 'service for the deity.'
21. It is not clear if we are to take him as a member of the Trinity or as the God of Fire.
22. The word *makha* is probably the Vedic one meaning 'feast, sacrifice,' etc.
23. See the note on the text.
24. It is noteworthy that in l. 3 above we find the *pitāmaha* of Kailāśa receiving lands of Mangulihi. Here we find him with the title of *samgat mangulihi*. May this be an indication of how one comes to hold the title of *samgat* ?
25. His functions are not known.
26. *Dapo=Dapu* ?
27. Probably we have to read Turu,° which name appears in several inscription. *cf. KO* I : 1 : 4, dated 841 Śaka (Coll. Diedukman) ; the copper-plates at Solo, A. 11, of the time of king Vava (*OV*, 1928, pp.66-67) ; the stone of Jĕdung, ll.3-4 (Tu(ru)mangambil), dated 8. 8. Śaka (*OJO* XXXIII) ; OJO CIII *b*, undated (Coll. Diedukman).
28. From their title, they appear to be spiritual functionaries but they seem to have some civil functions as well. See hereover Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
29. Their functions are not known. Apparently they are ecclesiastical officers.

30. Their functions are not known. Apparently they are ecclesiastical officers.
31. It is not clear if these three names refer to official titles or personal names. *Pangurang* however is known to be an official title. The title of *Pitungtung* also appears in *KO* XI (800 Śaka).
32. The text of this portion is written in wretched Sanskrit.
33. Passages are too corrupt to yield any sense, unless one takes great liberty with spellings and constructions. *Notulen* 8 (1870) pp. 72, 78 ; *KO*. p. X ; Verbeek, *Oudheden*, p. 159 ; *Notulen* 30 (1892) pp. 23 ff.

As several place-names and personal names of this inscription are also met with in the copper-plate of Ngabĕan (OJO XII), it is probable that the present record is also derived from that place in Magĕlang.

XXXVIII

COPPER-PLATES OF MULAK I (NGABĔAN I), 800 ŚAKA

These copper-plates were obtained from Kĕdu in 1870 and are described to have been found from the regency of Magĕlang.[1] The inscription is incised on one side of each of the four plates measuring 38×6 c.m. These plates are now deposited at the Jakarta Museum, but adequate particulars are lacking. They are, however, in an excellent state of preservation.

The inscription records that the *rakarayān i vka*, viz., *Pu* Catura marked out the lands of Mulak into a free-hold for the temple of Ÿ ı upit, in the śaka year 800.

Dr. Cohen Stuart has published the facsimile and transcription of this inscription in *KO* where it bears No. XI. Acording to Dr amais, the date of this inscription corresponds to 3rd Oct., 878 A.D.[1a]

TEXT

A. 1. svasti śakava(r)ṣātīta 800 kārttikamāsa, tṛtīya[1b] śuklapakṣa ma va
śu, vāra, tatkāla rakarayān. i vka pu catua, manusuk. manĭma
lmaḥ su

2. kat.[2] luānya, pangavetanya ḍpa 72 pangidulnya ḍpa 63 m
savaḥ tampaḥ 2 blaḥ 1 i mulak. vatak. vka, sīmā ni prāsāuang
da i
yu

3. pit,[3] anung inasyan. pasĕk. pasik[4] vyavasthā[5] ning man
sima, vahuta hyang sang halaran. pu kṛta anak vanua i 1 usuk.
ālvarani
vatak.

4. haměas. mas mā 4 (?) vḍihan. rangga yu l makudur. sang ravug-
vug. pu manggal. anak vanua i hinpuŏ vatak. pĕar. mas. mā 4 (?)
vḍihan. rangga

5. yu l patiḥ si vgig. rama ni dhyāna mas. mā 4 (?) vḍihan. rangga yu l anakvinya si ugīredhyāna kain. rangga savlaḥ parujar. nya si gaṇḍal. ra

B. 1. ma ni sangkhara mas. mā 2 vḍihan. yu 1 vahutanya si maja, rama ni varjuk. mas. mā 1 vḍihan. yu 1 gustinya sī rivut. rama ni kaṇḍi tuhalasnya

2. rama ni guvar. vḍihan. rangga yu l soang soang,[7] vahuta putat. si ranggal. rama ni plī mas. mā 4 (?) vḍihan. rangga yu l anakbinya si kārti nī

3. dara[8] plī kain. rangga savlaḥ pitungtungnya si bilu rama ni codya mas. mā 2 vḍihan. rangga yu l pangngurang[9] rakary n. mavanua sang kasumuran. pu manglīna,

4. vḍihan. rangga yu l partaya i mulak. pu agul. vḍihan. angsit. yu l kain. pangkat. savlaḥ sang hyang vatu pinakasīma vḍihan. rangga

5. yu l muang mata sang hyang mas. mā 2. (?) anuang rāma mangagam kon. i mulak, vinehan. pasĕk. pasĕk. kalang si mangavit. rama ni manghu

C. 1 linggusti 2 si bantal. rama ni dini si gāṇḍa rama ni banyāga, mas. mā 2 vḍihan rangga yu l soang soang, tuha banua si guvana rama ni lañcca

2. p. vinkas. si vinvyā[10] rama ni codya, variga si nuguḥ rama ni ungkar parujar 2 si gamvas. rama ni gaja, si ktā rama ni citā, mas mā 1 vḍihan. rangga

3. yu l soang soang, huler 2 si tahun. rama ni yukti, si tajam. rama ni danī, tuhalas. syamvarī rehari hulu vras 2 si vanua

4. rama ni kañci, si hrĕt. rama ni dalihan. vḍihan. rangga yu l soang soa(ng), manguvu i[11] sīma kalang 3 si tunggū rama ni gandha, si sadenya rama ni gha

5. ṭa, si gusai rama ni śudvi,[12] vḍihan. sahlai sovang sovang, tuha paḍahi si kuvuk. rama ni mitra vḍihan. rangga yu l tpi siring kinannān[13]. pasĕk. pasĕk.

D. 1. ing tunggayung tuha kalang si tunggo rama ni gandha i mali hyang kalang sang vaḍur. rama tnĩ, ing tis. kalang si vangun. rama ni paṇḍava, vḍihan. rangga yu l

2. soang soang, i sampun. nikanang pasak. pasak. inasyakan. i sang-yogyaknāna, mamangan. manginum. maparimvangi,[14] rā

3. manta matuha manuam. i mulak, anung kinon. rakarayān. humarappa[15] susukan. sima sang tuhān. ning kanayakān.

4. pu mangadu madmak. i kuvu, muang vahuta putat. si laṇḍa rama ni kayĩ, ekapiṇḍa vyaya ning manĩma mas. kā l ❦ O ॥

TRANSLATION.

A. 1. Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 800, the month of Kārttika, third day of the bright half of the month, *mavulu*[16], *vage*[17], Friday. That is the time when the *rakarayān* of Vka (viz.) *Pu* Catura[18] marked out into a free-hold the extensive lands,

2. whereof the extent in the direction of the East is *ḍĕpa* 72 (and) in the direction of the South *ḍĕpa* 63, and the *savaḥ* field (measuring) *tampaḥ* 2 *blaḥ* 1, at Mulak, under Vka. (These form) the free-hold of the temple of Yupit.

3. Those who received gifts in ample measure according to the custom of marking out a free-hold : the *vahuta hyang*[19] (of) *sang halaran* (viz.) *Pu* Kṛta, resident of Tālvaraṇi under

4. Hamĕas, (received) gold 4 (?) *māṣa* (and) coloured cloth 1 set (and) the (*vahuta hyang-s* of the)[20] *makudur* : *sang* Ravugvug (and) *Pu* Manggal, residents of Hinpu under Pĕar, (received) gold 4 (?) *māṣa* (and) coloured cloth

5. 1 set. The *patih* (viz.) Si Vgig, father of Dhyāna (received) gold 4 (?) *māṣa* (and) coloured cloth 1 set ; his wife (viz.) *Si* Ugĩredhyāna (received) one piece of coloured skirt ; his *parujar* (viz.) *si* Gaṇḍal, father

B. 1. of Sangkhara (received) gold 2 *māṣa* (and) 1 set of clothes ; his *vahuta* (viz.) *Si* Maja, father of Varjuk (received) gold 1 *māṣa* (and) cloth 1 set ; his *gusti* (viz.) *Si* Rivut, father of Kaṇḍi (and) his *tuhalas* (namely ?)[21],

2. father of Guvar (received) coloured cloth 1 set, each in particular[22]. The *vahuta* of Putat (viz.) *Si* Ranggal, father of Plĩ (received) gold 4 (?) *māṣa* (and) coloured cloth 1 set ; his wife (viz.) *Si* Kārti of

3. Dara plĩ (received) one piece of coloured skirt; his *pitungtung*[23] (viz.) *Si* Bilu, father of Codya (received) gold 2 *māṣa* (and) coloured cloth 1 set. The *pāngurang* of the *rakryan mavanua*[24] : *sang Kasumuran*[25] (viz.) *Pu* Manglĩna (received)

4. coloured cloth 1 set. The *partaya*[26] of Mulak (viz.) *Pu* Agul (received) *angsit*-cloth 1 set (and) *pangkat*-dress, one piece. The *sang hyang vatu pinakasĩma*[27] (received) 1 set of coloured cloth and

5. *mata sang hyang*[28] (received) gold 2 (?) *māṣa*. The *rāma*-s of Mulak, with powers to pass orders, received in ample measure : the *kalang* (viz) *Si* Mangavit (who is) the father of Manghuling,

C. 1. the two *gusti*-s (viz.) Si Bantal (who is) the father of Dini (and) Si Gāṇḍa (who is) the father of Banyāga (received) gold 2 *maṣa*

(and) coloured cloth 1 set, each in particular.[29] The *tuha banua*[30] (viz.) Si Guvana (who is) the father of Lañccap,

2. the *vinkas* (viz.) *Si* Vinvyā (who is) the father of Codya, the *variga* (viz) *Si* Nuguh (who is) the father of Ungkar, the two *parujar*-s (viz.) *Si* Gamvas (who is) the father of Gaja (and) *Si* Ktā (who is) the father of Citā (received) gold 1 *māṣa* (and) coloured cloth

3. 1 set, each in particular. The two *huler*-s (viz.) *Si* Tahun (who is) the father of Yukti (and) *Si* Tajam (who is) the father of Danī, the *tuhalas* (viz.) *Si* [31] Amvarī of Reharī, the two *hulu vras*-es (viz.) *Si* Vanua, the

4. father of Kañci (and) *Si* Hrĕt, father of Dalihan (received) coloured 1 cloth set, each in particular. The *manguvu*-s[32] of the free-hold (viz.) the three *kalang*-s : *Si* Tunggū (who is) the father of Gandha, *Si* Sadenya (who is) the father of Ghaṭa,

5. (and) *Si* Gusai, the father of Śudvi, (received) one piece of cloth, each in particular. The *tuha paḍahi* (viz.) *Si* Kuvuk, the father of Mitra, (received) coloured cloth 1 set. The neighbours were given in ample measure :

D. 1. the *tuha kalang*[33] of Tunggayung (viz.) *Si* Tunggo (who is) the father of Gandha, the *hyang kalang*[33] of Mali (viz.) *Sang* Vaḍur (who is) the father of Tnī, the *kalang* [33] of Tis (viz.) *Si* Vangun (who is) the father of Paṇḍava (received) coloured cloth 1 set,

2. each in particular. After the completion of giving away gifts in ample measure to the worthy ones, the *rāmanta*-s of Mulak, the Old (and) the young, ate, drank (and) made toilette with paints (and) perfumes.

3. They were (then) requested by the *rakarayān* to come before the marked-out free-hold. The *tuhān* of the united body of the *nāyaka*-s

4. (viz.) *pu* Mangadu, the *madmak*[34] of the village, and the *wahuta* of Putat (viz.) *Si* Laṇḍa, the father of Kayī (offered) a lump-sum for the expenses of marking out the free-hold (viz., gold 1 *karṣa*).[35]

FOOTNOTE

1. *Notulen* 8 (1870) pp. 72, 78; *KO* p. × ; Verbeek, *Oudheden*, p. 150 ; *Notulen* 30 (1892) pp. 23 ff. As several place-names and personal names of this inscription are also met with in the copper-plate of Ngaběan (*OJO* XII), it is probable that the present record is also derived from the place in Magĕlang:

1a. *BEFEO*, 46 (1952) p. 39.

1b Read : °yā.

2. °tā ? (C. Stuart).

3. The alternative reading of C. Stuart is 'supit', but 'Yupit' appears to be beyond doubt. *cf. sa* in the preceding line.

4. Read : °sĕk.

5. The alternative reading of C. Stuart is °thā. This the correct spelling of the word.

6. C. Stuart alternately reads : °nṭu, °nvu. The above reading is supported by *OJO* XII and XIII.

7. This is usually spelt as *sovang sovang*.

8. Jara ? (C. Stuart).

9. It is generally spelt as : *pangurang*.

10. °ndhyā ? (C. Stuart)

11. ing ? (C. Stuart).

12. °ddhi ? (C. Stuart).

13. Read : Kinĕnan.

14. °mba° ? (C. Stuart).

15. Here also the consonant has been doubled

16. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.

17. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.

18. He appears in several inscriptions in an important *role* and is thus one of the most capaple officers of the state.
19. He appears to be a religious functionary from several records.
20 In support of this translation, one has to consider *OJO* XII : A. 9-11.
21. The name might have been omitted for the carelessness sf the copyist.
22. This list may indicate that the officers under the *patih* were : *parujar*, *wahuta*, *gusti* and the *tuhalas*. It would be difficult to say if the names are arranged here in order of their status , though this is usually the case.
23. His functions are not known, though this is usually the case.
24. He may be connected in some way with village-administration. It may as well mean a person who possessed the village.
25. Elsewhere, the title is spelt as *sumuḍan*. Its significance is not quite clear.
26. Elsewhere, *pratyaya*. Perhaps the influence of oral speech.
27. This refers to the sacred foundation-stone.
28. *Mata* may mean either 'mother' or 'eye'. but these meanings do not appear to be applicable here. Can the phrase refer to the 'pedestal of the *sang hyang* (*vatu pinakasīma*), viewed as female energy or mātā (mother) ?
29. It appears herefrom that the *kalang* and *gusti* had some executive functions:
30. *Tuha banua-s* are elders of villages. They seem to be distinguished from the following categories of officers, viz., *vinkas*, *variga* and *parujar*. From 68. 15, it appears that the *tuha banua-s* had executive functions.
31. The writer has employed here the Skt. *sandhi*-rule. The name may also be read as : *Si* Amva of Reharī.
32. The term may be the same as *hulu kuvu*. Over *hulu kuvu*, See *TBG*, 73, p. 101.
33. These terms appear to denote a classification of *kalang*-s into various grades.
34. *Madmak* <*dēmak* bears the sense 'gift, present, award' etc. Can it denote a treasurer of the village for public purposes ?
35. Or : 1 *ka(ti)*.

XXXIX
COPPER-PLATE OF MAMALI (POLENGAN V) 800 ŚAKA.

This record has been preserved in the Museum of Jogjakarta. Its photo and estampage are respectively numbered OD 13707 and 2868. It has not yet been properly edited. A brief notice of it was taken by Stutterheim in *OV* 1938 p. 19. It is dated in 800 Śaka. According to Damais[1] , the exact date corresponds to 23rd Nov., 878 A. D. The first few lines have been published by Damais in *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 34.

TEXT

1. // svasti śakavarṣātīta 800 mārggaśiramāsa daśami[2] kṛṣṇapakṣa vurukung kalivuan ādityavāra tatkāla nikanang

2. lmaḥ ning kbuan karamān i mamali vatak mamali vinli rakarayān i sirikan ri kanang mas kā l sīmā ni kanang prāsada nira i

3. gunung hyang

TRANSLATION

1. Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 800, the month of Mārgaśira, tenth day of the dark half of the month, *vurukung*[3] , *kalivon*[4] , sunday. That is the time when the

2. land of the garden belonging to the united body of the *ramas* of Mamali under Mamali was purchased by *Rakarayān i Sirikan* for gold *ka* l (for) the freehold of the temple (*prāsāda*) of

3. Gunung hyang[5] .....

FOOTNOTE

1. *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 39.
2. Read : °mī
3. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
4. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
5. A locality of this name has been referred to above in 34.2 ; 35.2.

XL

THE COPPER-PLATE OF KVAK I (NGABĔAN II) 801 ŚAKA

This copper-plate was obtained from Ngabĕan of the Magĕlang division of the residency of Kĕdu. It measures 36 x 22.5 c. m. and since 1892 it is deposited at the Jakarta Museum where it is numbered E. 6. Dr. Brandes wrote a cursory notice of this and several other contemporary records in *Notulen* 1892, pp. 23 ff.

The inscription records that the *tgal*-fields at Kvak were made into *savah*-fields as a free-hold for the temple of Kvak dhm by the favour of the illustrious great king, the *raka* of Kayuvangi, in 801 Śaka. According to Damais[1] , the date corresponds to 27th July, 879 A.D.

The transcription of this record has been published in *OJO*, where it bears no. XII. A facsimile of the first face has also been published in the same (Pl. 4).

TEXT.

A. 1. svasti śakavarṣātīta 801 śravaṇamāsa[1a] tithi pañcami[2] śuklapakṣa, vurukung, umanis, soma, vāra tatkāla ājña[3] śrī mahā

2. rāja rake kayuvangi, tumurun i rakarayān kagnap hino vatu tihang bavang śirikan umanugrahākna ikang tgal i kva

3. k vatak vka, gaṇagaṇā tampaḥ 5 sinusuk gavayan savaḥ maparaha śīmā nikanang prisāda [4] i kvak dham rakarayān vka pu ca

4. tura, buatthajyanya [5] mangragā kamvang ing pastika, akan bisuva caitrāsuji, ujar haji kinon rakarayān vka, mangasĕa

5. kna pasĕk pasĕk yathānyan mapagĕḥha[6] i dlāha ning dlāha, rake hino pu aku, rake vatu tihang pu agra, samgat bavang pu pa

6. rtha, rake sirikan pu purungul, kapua inangsĕan mas su l vḍihan kalyāga yu l sovang sovang halaran pu dĕmpāngkara

7. panggil hyang pūttarāsangga, dalinan pu acung, manghuri pu kiti, pangkur pu gava, tavān pu rañjan tirip pu agra piṇḍa, vadihati pu

8. manū, makudur pu mnang, kapua inangsĕan mas mā 8 vḍihan birā yu l sovang sovang, tuhān ri[7] vadihati umiramiraḥ mangra

9. kappi[8] halaran tuhān i makudur vangun sugiḥ, kapua vineḥ mas mā 5 vḍihan ragi yu l sovang sovang vanghuta[9] hyang lu

10. maku manusuk[10] sang halaran anak vanua i tāl varaṇi vatak hamĕas, i makudur, sang ravugvug anagvanua i hinpu

11. vatak pĕar vineḥ mas mā 5 vḍihan ragi yu l sovang sovang, patiḥ air buvung rikang kāla si haris rama ni ṇita patiḥ kalya

12. n si parama rama ni gesti, kapua vineh mas mā 5 vḍihan ragi yu l sovang sovang, parujar ning patiḥ airbuvuang si maja rama ni varju

13. k, vahutanya si hali, parujar ning patiḥ kalyan si layar rama ni hidĕḥ, variganya si ayuddha rama ni nidhi, kapua vineḥ ma

14. s mā 2 vḍihan ragi yu l sovang sovang, vahuta putat si laṇḍa rama ni kayĕm, si ranggal rama ni pĕlĕm, kapua vineḥ mas mā 5 vḍi

15. han ragi yu l sovang sovang, pitungtung pu sumvara rama ni hamvingmatulak si mangher rama ni santul, kapua vineḥ mas mā l vḍihan

16. ragi yu l, sovang sovang, anung rāma māgman i kvak rikang kāla kalang 2 si pulu rama ni sukam, si hanĕng rama ni pavĕm, gusti 2 si hli

17. rama ni si taru rama ni puluk, tuha banua 2 si cara rama ni guvar, si kahuripan rama ni hangū vinkas si ravān rama ni

B.1. (agra)[11] kapua vineḥ mas mā 2 vḍihan ragi yu l sovang sovang, variga santaiy[12] parujar 2 si guse rama ni gaja, si jala rama ni angkatan,

2. hulu kuvu si maṇḍit rama ni vadvan, tuhalas si luat, rama ni palana, hungler si brati rama ni pahal kapua vineḥ mas mā l vḍi

3. han ragi yu l, sovang sovang, marhyang i kavikvan si lanaḥ si bhāryyā revatĕm (?) tuha paḍahi si dhanam, marĕgang si śukla mangla si buddha, maga (?)

4. Si kuṇḍi, mavuai si pavān kapua vineḥ mas mā l vḍihan ragi yu l sovang sovang, rāma tpi siring rikang kāla, kalang ri vaharu si varju ra

5. mani tahun, i halang manuk kalang si śila rama ni guḍay, i tiga vangi kalang si vadvā, gusti si kamvar rama ni śristi, i malañjang gusti si bharata

6. rama ni taytra i hivas si pañca rama ni paḍang, kring pu bhāgya, mangilala paranakan, si rakinam si carik, kapua vineḥ mas mā l vḍihan

7. ragi yu l sovang sovang, saji ni manguyut mas mā 5 vḍihan yu 2 vulang hulu sang makudur vḍihan yu l saji sang hyang vatu kulu

8. mpang mas mā 5 vḍihan yu 5 bras pāda l vsi ikat 10, haluhalu 5 vtinya ikat 5 vadung l rimvas l, tarataraḥ l tampila

9. n l kris l tataḥ l laṇḍak l linggis 5 dāng l taray l padamaran l muang caru tulung tavur sātthikarāja[13] sakāma sa

10. mua[14] kumol vḍus hayam hantrini, i sampunnya mangkana manaḍah sang vahuta hyang kudur muang patiḥ vahutu,[15] muang rāma tpi si

11. ring muang rāma i kvak rarai matuha manuam kabeḥ, i sampun ing manaḍaḥ mangḍiriḍiri[16] sang kudur manapate[17] manavurakan bavu manambaḥ

12. ikanang patiḥ vahuta muang rāma tpi siring muang rāma i kvak muvaḥ i ronya nahan cihnanyan sampun mapagĕḥ ikanang tgal i kvak

13. sinusuk gavayan savaḥ śīmā nikanang prasāda [18] i kvak, kunang asĭng umulahulaḥ ikeng śīma salvir ning sangsāra pangguhanya eka pi

14. ṇḍabyāya ning manĭma mas su kā 1 su 11 mas mā 5[19] mas ku 3 ‖ 0 ‖

TRANSLATION.

A 1. Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 801, the month of Śrāvaṇa, fifth day of the bright half of the month, *vurukung*,[20] *umanis*,[21] Monday. At that time, the orders of the illustrious

2. great king, the *raka* of Kayuvangi, were communicated to the full number of *rakarayān*-s[22] (viz.) Hino, Vatu tihang, Bavang [23] (and) Sirikan, favouring that the *tgal*-fields at Kvak,

3. under Vka, (measuring) altogether 5 *tampaḥ* s, shall be marked out into *savaḥ*-fields by the *rakarayān* (of) Vka (viz.) *pu* Catura for being trod upon as a free-hold of the temple at Kvak dham.

4. The duty to the king (shall consist) in the making of flower-baskets for Pastika[24] on every equinox during (the months of) Caitra (and) Asuji.[25] The royal command was despatched to the *rakarayān* (of) Vka to present gifts

5. in ample measure, so that (the gift of the king) may be confirmed up to the remotest future (i. e. for ages). The *raka* of Hino (viz.) *Pu* Aku, the *raka* of Vatu tihang (viz.) *Pu* Agra, the *samgat* (of) Bavang (viz.) Pu pa-

6. rtha, the *raka* of Sirikan (viz.) *pu* Purungul : all received gold 1 *suvarṇa* (and) *kalyāga*[26] -cloth 1 set, each in particular. The *halaran* (viz.) *Pu* Dĕmpāngkara,[27]

7. the *panggil hyang* (viz.) *Pu Uttarāsaṅga*,[28] the *dalinan* (viz.) *Pu* Acung, the *manghuri* (viz.) *Pu* Kiti, the *pangkur* (viz) *Pu* Gava, the

tavān (viz.) *Pu* Rañjan, the *tirip* (viz) *Pu* Agrapiṇḍa, the *vadihati* (viz.) *Pu*

8. Manū, the *makudur* (viz.) *Pu* Mnang, — all received gold 8 *māṣa* (and) *birā*[29]-cloth 1 set, each in particular. The tuhān-s of the *vadihati* (viz.) the *(u)miramirah*, *mangra(ng)*-

9. *kapi halaran*[30] ; the *tuhān* of the *makudur* (viz.) *vangun sugih* ;[31] all received gold 5 *māṣa* (and) *ragi*-cloth 1 set, each in particular. The *va(ng)huta hyang*-s : the *lu*-

10. *maku manusuk*[32] (of) *sang halaran*, resident of Tāl varaṇi under Hamĕas and (the *lumaku manusuk* of the) *makudur* (viz.) *sang* Ravugvug, resident of Hinpu

11. under Pĕar ; (these) received gold 5 *māṣa* (and) *ragi*-cloth 1 set, each in particular. The *patiḥ* of Air buvung, of this time, (namely) *Si* Haris, father of Ṇita ; the *patiḥ* of Kalyan (viz.)

12. *Si* Parama, father of Gesti ; all (these) received gold 5 *māṣa* (and) *ragi*-cloth 1 set, each in particular. The *parujar* of the *patiḥ* of Airbuvung (viz.) *Si* Maja, father of Varjuk

13. (and) his *vahuta* (viz.) *Si* Hali ; the *parujar* of the *patiḥ* of Kalyan (viz.) *Si* Layar, father of Hidĕḥ (and) his *variga* (viz.) *Si* Ayuddha, father of Nidhi ; all (these) received gold

14. 2 *māṣa* (and) *ragi*-cloth 1 set, each in particular. The *vahuta*-s of Putat [33] (viz.) *Si* Laṇḍa, father of Kayĕm[34] (and) *Si* Ranggal, father of Pĕlĕṃ ; [35] all (these) received gold 5 *māṣa* (and) *ragi*-cloth

15. 1 set, each in particular. The *pitungtung*[36] (viz.) *pu* Sumwara, father of Hamving : the *matulak*[36] (viz.) *Si* Mangher, father of Santul ; all (these) received gold 1 *maṣa* (and) *ragi*-cloth

16. 1 set, each in particular. The *rāma māgĕman*-s[37] of Kvak, of this time : the two *Kalang*-s (viz.) *Si* Pulu, father of Sukam (and) *Si* Hanĕng, father of Pavĕṃ ; the two *gusti*-s (viz.) *Si* Hli,

17. father of ..... (and) *Si* Taru, father of Puluk ; the two *tuha banua*-s (viz.) *Si* Cara, father of Guvar (and) *Si* Kahuripan, father of Hangū : the *vinkas* (viz.) *Si* Ravān, father of

B.1. all (these) received gold 2 *māṣa* (and) *rāgi*-cloth 1 set, each in particular. The *variga* (viz.) Santaiy (*Si* Antai ?) ; the two *parujar*-s (viz.) *Si* Guse, father of Gaja (and) *Si* Jala, father of Angkatan ; the

2. *hulu kuvu*[38] (viz.) *Si* Luat, father of palana ; the *hungler*[39] (viz.) *Si* Brati, father of Pahal ; all (these) received gold 1 *māṣa* (and) *ragi*-cloth

3. 1 set, each in particular. The *marhyang*(s) of the cloister[40] (viz.) *Si* Lanaḥ (and ?) *Si* Bhāryyā (of ?) Revatĕm (?),[41] the *tuha paḍahi* (viz.) *Si* Dhanam, the *marēgang* (viz.) *Si* Śukla, the *mangla* [41] (viz.) *Si* Buddha, the *maga* (?)[42]

4. (viz.) *Si* Kuṇḍi, the *mavuai*[43] (viz.) *Si* Pavān ; all (these) received gold 1 *māṣa* (and) *ragi*-cloth 1 set, each in particular. The *rāma*-s of neighbouring places, of this time : the *kalang* of Vaharu (viz.) *Si* Varju, father

5. of Tahun ; the *Kalang* of Halang manuk (viz.) *Si* Śila, father of Guḍay ; the *Kalang* of Tiga vangi (xiz.) *Si* Vadvā ; the *gusti* (viz.) *Si* Kamvar, father of Śristi ; the *gusti* of Malañjang (viz.) *Si* Bharata,

6. father of Taytra ; (the *gusti*) or Hivas (viz.) *Si* Pañca, father of Paḍang ; the *kring* (viz.) Pu Bhāgya ; the *mangilala*-s (of) Parana-kan[44] (viz.) *Si* Rakinam (and) *Si* Carik ; all (these) received gold 1 *māṣa* (and)

7. *ragi*-cloth 1 set, each in particular. (For) *saji*-offerings[45] of the *manguyut*[46] (were given) gold 5 *māṣa* (and) 2 sets of clothes. (For) the *vulang hulu*[47] of *sang makudur* (was given) cloth 1 set. (For) *Saji*-offerings of the *sang hyang vatu kulumpang*[48]

8. (were given) gold 5 *māṣa*, 5 sets of clothes, *bras pada*[49] 1, *vsi ikat* [50] 10, *haluhalu*[51] 5, *vtinya ikat* [52] 5, axe 1, plane 1, *taratarah*[53] 1, *tampilan*[54] 1,

9. *kris* [55] 1, chisel 1, *laṇḍak*[56] 1, crowbars 5, cooking pot 1, *taray* 1, lamp 1 ; and (for) *caru*-necessaries, the offerings of the virtuous king (consisted of) the choicest of the collections

10. of *kumol*(s)[57], goats, hens, eggs. After the completion of such (gifts), ate the *sang vahuta hyang*(s) (of) the *kudur* and the *patih*(s), *vahuta*(s), and the *rama*-s of neighbouring

11. places and the *rama*-s of Kvak, (as also) all of the lads, the old and the young ! After the completion of eating, stood up *sang kudur* to curse (and) scatter ashes. (Now) offered respects

12. the *patih*(s), *vahuta*(s), and the *rāma*-s of neighbouring places as also the *rāma*-s of Kvak. Moreover, there was engraved on their also the *rāma*-s of Kvak. Moreover, there was engraved on their (*lontar*-) leaves[58] this that henceforward are confirmed the *tgal*-fields of Kvak

13. which have been marked out to be *savah*-fields for the free-hold of of the temple of Kvak. And (if there is anyone) who violates this, he may suffer all sorts of sorrows ! The total sum

14. of expenses for marking out the free-hold is : gold *suvarṇa* 1 *kati*,[59] *suvarṇa* 11, gold 3 *māṣa* (and) gold 3 *kupang*. ‖ 0 ‖

FOOTNOTES

1. *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 39.

1a. Skt : śrā°

2. Skt : °mī

3. Skt : °ñā

4. Ordinarily : prā.

5. Usually : °atha°. This seems to be due to influence of oral speech.
6. The duplication of *h* is archaic.
7. Better : *i* or *ni*.
8. Elsewhere : °rangkapi, °kĕpi.
9. The nasal drift into the word is not common.
10. Though the FS is not clear, Brandes' reading of *paku manupuk* appears to be incorrect from other inscriptions, e. g., Kĕmbang Arum inscription (*OV*, 1925, Bijl. B) ; *OJO* XXXI, v°, 8, etc.
11. This is filled up with the help of OJO XIII.
12. Can this be a copyist's or printer's mistake for Syantai (= *Si* Antai) ?
13. The correct Skt. form is sāttvika°.
14. samuha ?
15. This appears to be a mistake for °ta.
16. The use of one *diri* is sufficient.
17. Read : °pathe. Again influence of oral speech is found here.
18. Skt : prā°.
19. In lines A. 3, 9, 11, 12, 14 and B. 7, 8, 9, 14, the numeral for 5 is given in Old Javanese signs, probably to avoid confusion with 4. See note in *OJO* p. 16.
20. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
21. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
22. Van Naerssen [*BKI* 95 (1937) p 448 f.n 13] draws attention to the fact that the civil list of the king Rake Kayuvangi has not undergone any noteworthy change during his reign.
23. On *Bavang*, see Stutterheim in *TBG*, 65, pp. 215-220.
24. Or, "Flower-baskets of crystal", Pastika being a corruption of Skt. *Sphaṭika*. It also stands to reason that the flower-basket should refer to worship connected with the temple at Kvak dham, and not with Pastika, but the possibility cannot be excluded that Pastika is a geographical name.
25. Asuji=Āśvina.
26. A pattern of valuable cloths of red colour.
27. The name certainly reminds one of some celebrated Buddhist scholars and saints of this name.
28. The use of *hyang* in *panggil hyang* indicates that he is a religious functionary, but the exact import of the title is not known.
29. This cloth is also mentioned in *KO* XIV : 5.
30. That the title denotes one person appears probable from no. 49.a5.
31. *Tangkil sugih* of some other inscriptions.

32. Apparently he is connected with the marking out of the free-hold. Literally speaking, it refers to persons who go to make out the free-hold.
33. They are also mentioned in *KO* XI.
34. He is designated Kayĭ in XI.
35. He is designated Plĭ in *KO* XI. The various spellings of names Plĭ and Kayĭ serve to show that *ĕm* is sometimes =ĭ.
36. The functions of these officers are unknown.
37. Over *magĕman*, see Poerbatjaraka in *TBG*, 70, p. 156. We should note here that the *kalang*, *gusti*, *tuha banua* and the *vinkas* have been grouped above under the *rāma māgĕman*-s. The *rāma māgĕman* may be the same as *rāma mangagam* of *KO* XI, B. 5. See our translation thereof.
38. According to Stutterheim (*TBG*, 73, p. 101), *hulu kuvu*=inspector of houses.
39. The same as *huler*.
40. Kavikvan may also be treated as the name of a place.
41. Or : Si Lanah (and his) wife Revatĕm (?) . . . . . Can they be cooks ? See *TBG*, 74, p. 292, f. n. 1.
42. Apparently a class of people or officers.
43. A water-supplier ?
44. It is not certain if we are to regard this word a title or a place-name. As this occurs in the list of 'neighbouring places', we may indeed accept it as a place-name, but some difficulty is raised by the omission of a place name, after *kring*. If the word is taken to be a a title, it will render the interpretation of the term by Kern (*VG* VII,) more difficult for acceptance. Another possible interpretation is : the mangilala (and) the paranakan.
45. Articles necessary for the foundation-ceremonies of a free-hold.
46. From *OJO* CXII : 11 *b*, he appears to be a religious functionary. See also the interpretation of the term by Poerbatjaraka (Quoted by Krom in *Meded. Kon. AK. v. Wet. Afd. Lett.*, 58, p. 218).
47. The term refers, I think, to the head-dress. Following Mal. *bulang*. In Old-Jav. *Vulang* means : adornment of the breast.
48. Over these sacred stones, see Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 217 ff. and Van Eerde in *TBG* 47 (1930) pp. 823 ff.
49. In *OJO* XXIII : 3, we find *vĕas pada*. In India, *pada* often has the significance of 'type, sort, kind' etc. So *bras pada* I may mean 'unbolstered rice : I *pada*'.
50. Can it mean : 'iron : 10 *ikat* ? *Ikat* or *ikĕt* may perhaps stand for 'chord, wire',

Footnote

51. Clubs.
52. In the inscription of Balitung (11 : 8) dated 829 Śaka, we find *Vesinya ikat*. See Bijl. A in *Aanw. Kol. Inst.* 1934.
53. A kind of mattock ?
54. A kind of pick-axe ?
55. A kind of Javanese dagger.
56. Perhaps we have to read here *laṇḍuk* which appears in other inscriptions at this place. *cf. KO.* I : 3, 15 ; *OJO* XXIII : 3, etc. *Laṇḍuk* means 'chopping-knife'.
57. I do not know the significance of the term.
58. It appears from this statement that in ancient Java, grants were recorded not only on copperplates and stones but also on *lontar*-leaves. Hereover see Stutterheim in *TBG*, 67, p. 174. and Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth century*, vol. I. Inscr. Engraving on lontar leaves by sharp knives is also referred to in the Chinese annals. Vide Groeneveld, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, pp. 40, 52.
59. As 16 *suvarṇa* s=1 *kati*, we have here not the abbreviation of *ka(rṣa)* but of *ka(ti)*. 1 *suvarṇa* $= \frac{1}{16}$ *kati* ; 1 *karṣa*=16 *māṣa* ; 1 *māṣa* $= \frac{1}{16}$ *suvarṇa* ; 1 *karṣa*=*suvarṇa*. See Kern, *VG* VII, p. 44 ; Stutterheim, *TBG*, 65, p. 241 f.n. 60.

XLI

THE COPPER-PLATE OF KVAK II (NGABĔAN III), 801 ŚAKA.

This copper-plate was obtained from Ngabĕan of the Magĕlang division of the residency of Kĕdu. It measures 34 x 6.5 c.m. and since 1892 it is deposited at the Jakarta Museum where it is numbered E. 7. Dr. Brandes wrote a cursory notice of this record in *Notulen* 1892, pp. 23 ff.

The inscription records that the *rakarayān* of Vka (viz.) *Pu* Catura marked out lands at Kvak into a free hold for the temple of Yupit in 801 Śaka. According to Damais[1] the date corresponds to 27th July, 879 A. D.

The transcription of this record has been published in OJO, where it bears no. XIII.

TEXT

A.1. śakavarṣātīta 801 śrāvaṇamāsa, pañcamīla śukla(pakṣa), vu u so vāra, tatkāla rakarayān i vka pu caturā manusuk lmaḥ manīma i kvak vatak vka tga

2. l dadya savaḥ anung luānya gaṇagaṇā tampaḥ 5 sīmā ning prāsāda[2] i yupit, mangasyakan[3] pasak[4] pasak vyavasthā ning manīma, vahuta hyang hala

3. ran pu kṛta anak vanua i tāl varaṇi vatak hamyas,[5] akudur

saravugvug pu manggal anak vanna[6] i hinpu vatak pĕar mas mā 5 vḍihan rangga

4. yu 1 soang soang, saji ning manguyut mas mā 5 vḍihan rangga yu 1 saji ning vatu pinakasĩma mas mā 5 vḍihan

5. rangga yu 2 vras pada 1 vsi 1 haluhalu 5 vsi ikat 5 vadung 1 rimvas 1 taraḥtaraḥ 1 tampilan 1 tataḥ 1 laṇḍak 1 linggis 1 dāng 1 tara

6. y 1 padamaran 1, patiḥ i buvung si haris rama ni nitā[7] mas mā 5 vḍihan rangga yu 1 kain vlaḥ 1 parujarnya si maja rama ni marjuk[8] mas mā 2 vḍiha

B.1. n rangga yu 1 vahutanya si haling[9] mas mā 1 vḍihan rangga yu 1 gustinya si kaṇḍi rama ni pli mas ku 2 vḍihan rangga yu 1, muvaḥ patiḥ kalyan si parama rama ni

2. kaṣṭī[10] vḍihan rangga yu 1 parujarnya si layar rama ni hidang[11] vḍihan yu 1 variganya si ayuddha rama ni nīdhi vḍihan rangga hlai 1, vahuta putat[12] si laṇḍa rama

3. ni kali mas mā 1 vḍihan rangga yu 1 kain vlaḥ pitungtungnya si sumvara rama ni hamving mas mā 1 vḍihan rangga yu 1 makulak[13] si mangher rama ni santul mas mā

4. 1 vḍihan rangga yu 1, muvaḥ vahuta (putat)[14] si ranggal rama ni plĩ (plĕm ?) mas mā 2 vḍihan rangga yu 1, mangagam kon i kvak kalang 2 si pulu rama ni sukam si hidang

5. rama ni pavĩ (?) mas mā 2 (?) vḍihan rangga yu 1 kain vlaḥ sovang sovang, gusti 2 si hli rama ni vayuḥ si taru rama ni pulut,[15] tuha banua 2 si vara (? cara)[16] rama ni guvar,

6. si kahuripan rama ni hangũ mas mā 2 vḍihan rangga yu 1 kain vlaḥ 1 soang soang, vinkas si ravan rama ni agra mas mā 2 vḍihan rangga yu 1 kain vlaḥ 1[17]

TRANSLATION

A. 1. The Śaka year expired, 801, the month of Śrāvaṇa, fifth day of the bright half of the month, *wurukung*,[18] *umanis*,[19] Monday. At that time, the *rakarayān* of Vka (viz.) *Pu* Catura marked out into a free-hold the lands of Kvak under Vka, (whereby) the *tgal*-fields

2. shall be transformed into *savaḥ*-fields. The extent thereof is altogether 5 *tampaḥ*-s. (They form) the free-hold of the temple of Yupit.[20] (The *rakarayān* of Vka) offered gifts in ample measure (according to) the custom of marking out a free-hold. The *vahuta hyang* of (*sang*) *hala*-

3. *ran* (viz.) *Pu* Kṛta, resident of Tāl varaṇi under Hamyas and (the *vahuta hyang*-s of) the *akudur* (viz.) *sang* Ravugvug (and) *Pu* Manggala, residents of Hinpu under Pĕar (received) gold 5 *māṣa* (and) coloured

4. cloth 1 set, each in particular.[21] (For) *saji*-offerings of the *manguyut* (were given) gold 5 *māṣa* (and) coloured cloth 1 set. (For) *saji*-offerings of the *vatu pinakasĩma* (were given) gold 5 *māṣa* (and) coloured cloth

5. 2 sets, *vras pada* 1, iron (-piece) 1, *haluhalu* 5, *vsi ikat* 5, axe 1, plane 1, *taraḥtaraḥ* 1, *tampilan* 1, chisel 1, *laṇḍak*[22] 1, crowbar 1, cooking pot 1,

6. *taray* 1, lamp 1. The *patiḥ* of (Air)[23] buvung (viz.) *Si* Haris, father of Nitā (received) gold 5 *māṣa*, coloured cloth 1 set (and) cotton-dress 1 piece; his *parujar* (viz.) *Si* Maja, father of Marjuk,[24] (received) gold 2 *māṣa* (and) coloured cloth

B. 1. 1 set; his *vahuta* (viz.) *Si* Haling (received) gold 1 *māṣa* (and) coloured cloth 1 set; his *gusti* (viz.) *Si* Kaṇḍi, father of Pli

(received) gold 2 *kupang* (and) coloured cloth 1 set. Moreover, the *patih* of Kalyan (viz.) Si Parama, father of

2. Kaṣṭī (received) coloured cloth 1 set ; his *parujar* (viz.) *Si* Layar, father of Hidang (received) 1 set of clothes ; his *variga* (viz.) *Si* Ayuddha, father of Nīdhi, (received) coloured cloth 1 piece. The *vahuta* of Putat (viz.) *Si* Laṇḍa, father

3. of Kali (received) gold 1 *māṣa*, coloured cloth 1 set and cotton-dress one piece ; his *pitungtung* (viz.) *Si* Sumvara, father of Hamving (received) gold 1 *māṣa* and coloured cloth 1 set ; the *makulak*[25] (viz.) *Si* Mangher, father of Santul (received) gold 1 *māṣa* (and)

4. coloured cloth 1 set. Moreover, the *vahuta* (of Putat) (viz.) *Si* Ranggal, father of Plī (received) gold 2 *māṣa* (and) coloured cloth 1 set. (Those) having powers to pass orders : the two *kalang*-s (viz.) *Si* Pulu, father of Sukam (and) *Si* Hidang,

5. father of Pavī (?) (received) gold 2 (?) *māṣa*, coloured cloth 1 set (and) cotton-dress one piece, each in particular. The two *gusti*-s (viz.) *Si* Hli, father of Vayuḥ (and) *Si* Taru, father of Pulut,[26] the two *tuha banua*-s (viz.) *Si* Vara (? Cara), father of Guvar (and)

6. *Si* Kahuripan, father of Hangū (received) gold 2 *māṣa*, coloured cloth 1 set (and) cotton-dress one piece, each in particular. The *vinkas* (viz.) *Si* Ravan, father of Agra (received) gold 2 *māṣa*, coloured cloth 1 set (and) cotton-dress 1 piece.

FOOTENOTES

1. *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 39
1a. The correct Skt. from is : °mī.
2. Brandes read : pra°.

3. Usually °sĕa°.
4. Frequently spelt as *pa:ĕk pasĕk*.
5. It is spelt as °mĕas in *OJO* XII.
6. Read : °nua
7. It is spelt as ṇita in *OJO* XII.
8. It is written as Var° in *OJO* XII ; *KO* XI.
9. Hali of *OJO* XII.
10. At this place, we find 'gesti' in OJO XII.
11. Hidĕḥ in OJO XII.
12. Brandes read 'pukat'. Putat also appears in *KO* XI, OJO XII. Mistake in reading ?
13. We find °tula° in OJO XII. As the significance of both the terms is unknown, we can not say which is the correct form. Mistake in reading ?
14. This is filled up with the help of OJO XII.
15. In OJO XII : A. 17, the name is spelt as Puluk. So, one of the readings must be wrong.
16. In OJO XII, we have Cara.
17. In lines A. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, the numeral for 5 is given in Old-Javanese signs, probably to avoid confusion with 4 ; the second numeral in l. 5 is somewhat different. See note in *OJO* p. 17.
18. A day of the six-day week.
19. A day of the Mal-Polynesian five-day week.
20. For other free-holds of the temple of Yupit, see *KO* XI.
21. In translating this passage, one has to take into consideration the relevant portions of *KO* XI and *OJO* XII.
22. See note on this word in the previous inscription (*OJO* XII).
23. To write a part of the full village-name is not at all unusual in inscriptions. Thus, in the inscription of Kĕdu (*TBG*. 67, pp. 295-296), the village of Kuning Kagunturan is simply described as Kuning in Pl. A. 7. Similarly, in *KO* I from 841 Śaka, the place of Tunahvāhu (Pl. 3 : 10) is simply referred to as Tunah in Pl. I : 3.
24. Varjuk ?
25. Probably we have to read *matulak*. See the note on the text.
26. See the note on the text.

XLII

COPPER-PLATES OF SALINGSINGAN, 802 ŚAKA AND OF KIKIL BATU 827 ŚAKA

The find-spot of these plates is not known, but from reference to the names of Kamalagyan, Panggumulan and the *bhaṭāra* of Salingsingan, the plates appear to refer to Central Java, perhaps the region of Kedu.[1] The inscription is incised on two copper-plates measuring 39 x 15 c.m. It has been stated by Cohen Stuart[2] that Pl. 1*b*, which is illegible in many parts, has perhaps been copied on Pl. 2. In the following transcription Pl. 2 is described with additions from Pl. 1 *b* where it is legible. The plates were purchased[3] by the Batavia Society in 1864. A second inscription, dated 827 Śaka, has been incised in continuation of the first inscription. These plates are now preserved in the Jakarta Museum under no E 8 A and E 8 B.

The inscription incidentally states that the *raka* of Kayuvangi contributed to the presentation of some gold articles to the *bhaṭāra* of Salingsingan in 802 Śaka. The main interest of the inscription however lies elsewhere. It seems that the orders of the Pangaruhan regarding feudal obligations to be paid to the king were not adequately discharged by the people of some villages. Hence these obligations were fixed under royal command and people were asked not to oppose the Panguruhan in this matter. An additional interest of the inscription is created by the reference to some villages which were specially inhabited by particular classes of smiths. The motive of the second inscription is not quite clear. Damais doubtfully refers the date of the first inscription to 2nd May, 880 A.D.

The transcription and facsimile of this inscription have been published in *KO* X and partly by Damais in *BEFEO* 47 (1955) pp. 45-46. Due to the difficulty of the text, its meaning has not yet been

properly understood. A provisional translation of the record is offered below.

According to Damais, the date of the second charter corresponds to 28th Nov., 905 A.D.

1*a*. 1 svasti **śakavarṣātīta ḍuāmvilan. atus. aliḥ baiśākha māsa, tithi** caturdaśi[4] kṛṣṇapakṣa, tu, u, so vāra, **tatkāla** sang pangaruhan. pu ca

2. kra[5] mamuat. gavai varangbang mas. tunggal. brat sānggappan.[6] kati, rambutnya udi,[7] payung **pirak,** mavangku maḍaṇḍa mapuñcak. mas tunggal. brat sa

3. nggappan. kati masnya udi[8] tigang kati puṇya śrī mahārāja rakai kayuvangi i bhaṭāra i salingsingan. rikana kāla sang pangaruhan. dinamakka

4. n.[9] tan katamāna daining paraṇakkan. muang sikappan. **halu** varak. kring patinghalan. paḍammapuy. valyan. muang **rumvān.** sahana

5. ning punpunan. nira paṇḍai tambaga gangśa i panggumulan. i handanuan. i kamalagyan. i gulung i talaga sapradeśa **ning** manghu

6. ju(ng ?) karang taku jati luītan. kuningan. suṇḍa hujung ganggā sakveḥ ning tumūt. inatag. mabuat hajya i vatangan. irikānni

7. nuvaḥhakan. kinon. muliha ikanang inambil. mangintaya ngaranya si tēkēs. rai kris. muang rai bañcar. **anung** inala

8. p. haji umintaya anak. rakai guṇungan. pu bhaitā, ngaran nikanang paraṇakkan. sang rakinam. patiḥ i pungsur. manurunnakan.

9. ujar haji sang manguñjikan. pu[10] lugi samgat. paḍaḍaḥ mamvarg ākāśa samgat. manimpiki pu acung mataṇḍa i manimpiki rikanang kāla

10. pu sugēt. parujar. pūliḥ tuhān. i pangaruhan. pivujuk. manurat. citralekha ing ngumaḥ mas. pun tanggeḥ vangi matang ya

11. *dai*yaning anak bānua[11] sahanan[12] **ing ataggan. sang** pangaruhan. **kabaiḥ prayatnā ring ujar haji tan vibanga saprakāra** ning **pangatag.**

2(and 1*b*)

1. **sang** pangaruhan. **rāmanta i pangaruhan. milu manaḍah** ujar **haji, pu majēt. tuha** kalang pu lucira, guṣti[13] pu astuti,

2. muang pu sudhara **parujar.** pu dhiti, vinkas. pu mula,[14] variga pu dayana,[15] tuha **vĕrĕḥ pu bamĭ muang pu ayana,** rāma **ma**

3. ratā kakĭ svaṣṭi, pu do, tuha gusali pu **mātra** tuha kalang **i** kamala-gayn. pu śānta, **gusti pu** uṇḍal, parujar. **pu** pu

4. ñjang, vinkas. pu parasi, sang ragugur, tuha gusali rāma ni[16] sarad. tuha kalang pu talaga, pu sangka rama ni catha guṣti[17] pu pingul. rama ni

5. astira, parujar. pu livū[18] rama ni raksaṇa, tuha gusali pu sangka rama ni mūla,[19] vinkas. pu **hli** rama ni tunggū, **rāma** maratā pu[20] basa rama ni sa

6. ñjaya, nāanunghana **de** sang pangaruhan. prayatnā[21] ring[22] ujar haji ngunivaiḥ rakryan, **mavanua tan tamā ri** atanggan.[23] sang pangaruhan.

7. sang pangaruhan. ataḥ pramāṇā iriya, svaṣti[24] śaka varṣātīta[25] 827[26] mārggaśiramāsa tithi[27] caturdaśi[28] kṛṣṇa,[29] ma, ga, vṛ, vā

8. ra tatkāla sang tuha gusali rama ṇi[30] ikā mavaiḥ manaḍaha i rāmanta i kikil batu makabaihan. majaryyakan. sira haḍa

9. ngan, patiḥ rikāng kā'a pu katang rama ni dava,[31] kalang pu gubāng. guṣti pu bangklĕ, vinkas. pu pradū, rāma kaki atĭ, kaki

10 nang, pu(?) jinti, **pu kamala, pu kamali,** pu parahita, **kala(ng ?) i kakaran. pu tguḥ** vinkas. **pu ikā, hulutarus.**[32] **i** *suru* **tba**

11. 1. *pu* **mangol.**[33]

TRANSLATION

1*a*. 1. Hail! The Śaka **year** expired, 802,[34] **the month of Vaiśākha,** fourteenth **day of the dark half of the month,** *tunglai,*[35] *umanis,*[36] Monday. **At that time** ***sang*** *pangaruhan* (viz.)

2. *Pu* Cakra delivered **as** works of art (**for** religious **purposes**) **a** knob[37] **of gold** weighing nine *kati*[38] **whereof** the *rambut*[39] **was tested (?), a** silver umbrella with **a** band (which **serves to close** the umbrella), **stick** with **one** top-knob[40] (made of) **gold,** weighing nine

3. *kati.* **Of this tested (?) gold, three *kati* are the meritorious gift** of the illustrious **great king, the *raka* of** Kayuvangi, **to the** *bhaṭāra*[41] of Salingsingan. At this **time**[42] *sang pangaruhan* **received** (**the** royal favour whereby he)

4. **shall** not be interfered with by the ***paranakan*** and *sikēpan, halu varak, kring, patinghaṭan, paḍamapuy, valyan* and *rumvān.* (Now) all people

5. subservient to him (viz.) the copper-smiths (and) brass-smiths of Panggumulan,[43] of Handanuan, of Kamalagyan,[44] of Gulung, of Talaga, (and) **all the places of**

6. Manghuju(ng),[45] Karang, Taku, Jati, Luitan, Kuningan, Sunḍa, Hujung ganggā [46] (and) all people of Tumūt were called for feudal obligations (to be paid) at the audience-hall (of the king). At this place,[47] the (feudal) charges

7. were framed, demanded (and) received. After seeing the persons called *Si* Tēkēs, the Hon. one from Kris (*ra i Kris*) and the Hon. one from Bañcar (*ra i bañcar*) who were approved[48]

8. by the king, he[49] saw the son of the *raka* of Guṇungan (viz.) *Pu* Bhaitā (and) the person holding the office of the *paranakan* (viz.) *Sang* Rakinam, the *patih* of Pungsur (and) communicated

9. the royal orders (to) *sang manguñjikan*[50] (viz.) *Pu* Lugi, the *samgat* *Paḍaḍaḥ*[51] (namely ?) Mamvang ākāśa, the *samgat manimpiki* (viz.) *Pu* Acung, the *mataṇḍa* of the *manimpiki*-s of this time (viz.)

10. *Pu* Sugēt, the *parujar* of Pūliḥ,[52] the *tuhān* of the *pangaruhan* (namely ?) Pivujuk[53] (and) the writer, the *citralekha* of Ngumah mas[54] under (?) Tanggeh vangi.[55] The reason why

11. the service of all the *anak banua*-s was requisitioned *sang pangaruhan* is that all shall take care of the royal command without offering any kind of opposition to the exhortations of

2 (and 1b)

1. *sang pangaruhan*. The *rāmanta*-s under *Pangaruhan* (who) went to receive the royal command: *Pu* Majēt, the *tuha kalang* (viz.) *Pu* Lucira, the *gusti*(s) (viz.) *Pu* Astuti,

2. and *Pu* Sudhara, the *parujar* (viz.) *Pu* Dhiti, the *vinkas* (viz.) *Pu* Mula, the *variga* (viz.) *Pu* Dayana, the *tuha vērēh*(s) (viz.) *Pu* Bamī and *Pu* Ayana, the *rāma maratā*(s,[56] (viz.)

3. *Kaki* Svaṣṭi (and) *Pu* Do, the *tuha gusali* (viz.) *Pu* Mātra, the *tuha kalang* of Kamalagyan (namely ?) *Pu* Śānta, the *gusti* (viz.) Pu Uṇḍal, the *parujar* (viz.) Pu

4. Puñjang, the *vinkas*(es) (viz.) *Pu* Parasi (and) *Sang* Ragugur, the *tuha gusali* (who is) the father of Sarad, the *tuha kalang* (viz.) *Pu* Talaga, *Pu* Sangka (who is) the father of Catha, the *gusti* (viz.) *Pu* Pingul (who is) the father of

5. Astira, the *parujar* (viz.) *Pu* Livū (who is) the father of Raksaṇa, the *tuha gusali* (viz.) Pu Sangka (who is) the father of Mūla, the *vinkas* (viz.) *Pu* Hli (who is) the father of Tunggū, the *rāma maratā* (viz.) *Pu* Basa (who is) the father of Sañjaya.

6. Now these (officers) were asked (?) by *sang pangaruhan* to take care of the royal command. So also the *rakryan mavanua* (was asked) not to interfere with the jurisdiction of *sang pangaruhan*, (because)

7. *Sang Pangaruhan* is the sole authority over this. Hail! The Śaka year past, 827, the month of Mārgaśira, fourteenth day of the dark half of the month, mavulu[57], pahing [58] Thursday.

8. At that time, *sang tuha gusali*[59], the father of Ikā, offered food-stuff,[60] to all the *rāmantas* of Kikil batu: he fed them with buffaloes.

9. The *patih* of the time (viz.) *Pu* Katang, the father of Dava, the *kalang* (viz.) *Pu* Gubāng, the *gusti* (viz.) Pu Bangklē, the *vinkas* (viz.) *Pu* Pradu (who is) the father of *Kaki* Atī, the *Kaki*'s), (viz).

10. .....*Pu* Jinti, *Pu* Kamala, *Pu* Kamali, *Pu* Parahita, the *kalang* of Kakaran (namely ?) Pu Tguḥ, the *vinkas* (viz.) *Pu* Ikā, the hulutarus (?)[61] of Suru (?) tbal,

11. *Pu* Mangol.....

FOOTNOTES

1. As some personal names of this inscription also appear in the record from Paprin-
gan (Jogjakarta), Dr. Stutterheim supposes (*TBG* 73, p. 100 f.n. 1) that the
inscription under review may also be derived from that region, viz., ogjal
Prambanan. J karta.
2. p x.,
3. See, p. *en*. 2 pp. 32, 58.
4. The correct Skt. from is °rdaśī. Cohen Stuart's reading of °daci appears to be
in istake. a
5. print' gC rt)
°tra ? (t Stua n but sāng° is clear on the FS. This seems to be a
6. C. Stuar reads sa printing
7. mistake.
8. daśī ? (C. Stuart).
dpIC tuart) the inscription deserves attention.
10. The d_ sation of c consonant in the
11. bu Stu reads ba°, but bā° is clear.
12 C St sahā° but there is no sign for the medial ā.
13. C. uart reads spelling of °sti.
14. Bll. 1 *b* ha tha uC. Stuart).
15. uyana ? (C. Stuart).
16. Th rd *ni* all left out has been inserted over the top.
17. l e w r origin y
1 *b* : °sti.
18. 1 *b* : °bū ? (C. Stuart).
19. bu : mu° St C. Stuart).
2. ? (C. art).
21. 1 *b* : °na.
22. 1 b : ri ? (C. Stuart). R d
23. ataggan ? (C. Stuar). ea : °agan.
24. Read : svasti.
25. The correct Skt. form is : °ṣā°. re d he date as 827.
26. C. Stuart : Or 847 ? *cf. KO*, p. X. Damais a s t

27. This lacks in 1 *b*.
28. C. Stuart's reading of °daci is evidently a printing mistake. The correct Skt. form is : °rdaśī.
29. 1 *b* has : kṛṣṇa pakṣa., mavulu, pahing vṛṣpati'...
30. 1 *b* : bapa ni.
31. uva ? (C. Stuart).
32. 1 *b* : °turus.
33. This may be jointly read from 1*b* and 2.
34. The digits have been put in words. See Damais in *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 38 f n. 3
35. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
36. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
37. The passage in question has been translated by Poerbatjaraka (*Agastya* pp. 47 f n. 3) in a somewhat different way, and my attention to it was drawn by Dr. F.H.N van Naerssen. Poerbatjaraka translated thus : ("Dating) this is the time when the *pangaruhan* Mr. Cakra delivered a piece of work (consisting of a golden knob weighing nine kati. The filing (rambut) thereof is a silver payung with a golden band, stick and point. (which payung) weighs nine kati. The total weight of the gold (for the payung) is three katis. (The objects constitute) the meritorious gift of H. M. king Rake kayuvangi to the god of Salingsingan" etc (Translated from Dutch) . The break-up of the old Jav. sentence by Poerbatjaraka and filling in of some words by him, as shown within brackets, may not be acceptable to all. In any case, I understand the passage thus, namely, that Mr. Cakra delivered only one umbrella made of silver, but its stick had a gold top-knob weighing nine kati, of which three kati was the gift of the king.
38. Dr. C. Hooykaas writes in a private communication dated 23 2. 62 : I venture to surmise that *mas tunggal* might denote the weight.
39. For remarks on this word and the passage, see Stutterheim in *TBG* 65, pp. 223-230 f.n. Also Poerbatjaraka, *op. cit.*
40. I believe the word corresponds to the word *agra* in the inscription on the silver umbrella of Mandang (Sucen A), 765 Śaka. See no. XV above.
41. *Bhaṭāra*=deity or the apotheosised king. It is difficult to say which one has been intended in our text. On the custom of deification, see Coedes in *BCAI*, 1911, pp. 38-49 and Krom in *Geschiedenis*, pp. 8, 180 ff.
42. From this place up to l. 9, one can translate the inscription differently according to his conception of the construction of sentences.
43. Panggumulan perhaps lay in Sleman in the district of Klegung. The name Panggumulan is also mentioned in the inscription of Kĕmbang Arum (*OV*, 1925, Bijl. B).
44. This place is probably mentioned in the inscription of Kuburan Candi. See *TBG*, 70, pp. 157, 167-168.
45. Excepting probably Kuningan and Sunḍa, it is difficult to say where one name begins and ends.

46. It is difficult to say if Hujung gangga should be separated into two names.
47. The intention seems to be this : the people who had collected at that place i. e at Salingsingan had, by mutual discussion, fixed their feudal obligations to be paid to the king. As these obligations were entered into in a religious place, these were considered to be binding on the people concerned. It may also refer to the audience hall of the king which might not have been far off from Salingsingan.
48. I do not understand what this approval refers to. Were these names approved because they were designated by the king to look after collection of feudal dues for the king ?
49. This appears to refer to *sang pangaruhan.*
50. An officer of unknown functions.
51. Or : Since the following title-holder is *samgat manimiiki* and *manimpiki* is undoubtedly an official title, it seems, on that analogy, that *samgat pajajah* is also an official title. The other possible rendering is : the samgat (of) Pajajah. In that case, Pajajah may also be treated as the name of a place.
52. Or : *Pu* Uliḥ.
53. Or : .....'the *pangaruhan*, also Vujuk.....'
54. Lit. 'the house of gold.'
55. Or : 'the *punta* of Geh-vangi.'
56. Inspector of vehicles ? Inspector of plains ?
57. A Mal-Polynesian day of the six-day week
58. A Mal-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
59. The same as *juru gusali.*
60. The motive for this feast has not been described.
61. A class of officers or people ?

XLIII

THE PILLAR OF SALIMAR I (PRAMBANAN) 802 ŚAKA

This pillar, obtained from the neighbourhood of Prambanan,[1] was in the possession of the governor at Jogjakarta and was later on deposited at the Jakarta Museum where it is numbered D. 45. Two impressions of the stone are mentioned in the *Notulen* 1869 Bijl N, but they have not been traced.[2] Regarding this stone-pillar, Dr. Brandes[3] furnished some particulars in 1887. He said that the pillar is round, with a round top and a four-sided pedestal. It is very much weather-beaten and the inscription runs about the stone in a spiral form. It is written in Old-Javanese script of Central Java. The stone measures 46 c.m. in height, 33 in diameter ; the pedestal is 27 c m. in height and 32 in breadth. It is monolithic and contains thirteen lines of writing. The date of the inscription was previously read as 804 Śaka by Brandes and Stutterheim. Damais reads the year as 802 Śaka and says that the date corresponds to 10th Oct., 880 A.D.[4]

The inscription records the foundation of a free-hold in the woods of Salimar by the *Pamgat* Balakas (viz.) *Pu* Balahāra, in 802 śaka. It appears to refer to his grant of lands to the *rāmanta*-s of Kaṇḍang.

The transcription of this record has been published in *OJO* where it bears no. XIV.

TEXT

‖ 0 ‖ svasti śakavarṣātīta 802 kartikamāsa tṛtīya śuklapakṣa mavulu pahing soma vāra tatkāla sang pamgat balakas pu ba'ahāra manusuk sima ing alas ing salimar[5] (umeh)akĕn[6] ikanang lmaḥ rāmanta i kaṇḍang[7] (kalang si vama)[8] gusti si daisi[9] patiḥ si pingul si i ir[10] kalima si

raka si si tangkir bu gusti ing buang lu[11] si pupul parujar si panamuan si mala[12] partaya sang pi[13] si tiruan variga galaḥ si t i[14] hulai[15] si li[16] s [17] (tu ha baru si ma(hi)[18]

TRANSLATION.

‖ 0 ‖ Hail! The Śaka year expired, 802, the month of Kārtika, third day of the bright half of the month, *mavulu*,[19] *pahing*,[20] Monday. At that time, *sang pamgat* of Balakas (viz.) Pu Balahāra marked out a free-hold in the woods of Salimar and gave away(?)[21] the lands (to) the *rāmanta*-s of Kaṇḍang :[22] [the *kalang* (viz.) *Si* Vama] ; the *gusti* (viz.) *Si* Daisi (Ngaisi ?) ; the *patih*-s[23] (viz.) *Si* Pingul (and) *Si* (Liviḥ ?) ; the *kalima* (viz.) *Si*..... *si*..... *si* Tangkir..... the *gusti* of Buanglu (viz.) *Si* Pupul ; the parujar-s (viz.) *Si* Panamuan (and) *Si* Mala ; the *partaya* (viz.) *sang* Pi(ḍaḥ ?) ..... *Si* Tiruan..... *variga* of Galaḥ (viz.) *Si*..... the *hular*-s (viz.) *Si* Hi (*Vli* ?), (and) *Si* (Rudra ?), the (*tu*)*ha buru*[24] (viz.) Si Ma(hi).....

FOOTNOTES

1. Verbeek, *Oudheden*, p. 164. For Stutterheim's remarks about the find-spot, see *TBG*, 73, pp. 98-99.
2. *OJO*, p. 17.
3. *Catalogus Groeneveldt*, p. 389. For further references, see Verbeek, *op cit.*, pp. 164 ff.
4. *BEFEO*, 46 (1952) p. 41
5. This improved reading of Dr. Crucq is quoted by Stutterheim in *TBG*, 73, p. 97.

6. Cf. the inscription of Papringan. See *TBG*, 73, p. 99.
7. Brandes doubtfully read Kaṇḍ*ing*. The above emendation is suggested by the inscription of Papringan.
8. This is filled up with the help of the inscription of Papringan.
9. In the inscription of Papringan, we have 'ngaisi' at this place.
10. The same has 'liviḥ' at this place
11. The same has 'vualu' at this place.
12. The same has 'mula' at this place
13. The same has 'piḍaḥ' at this place.
14. The same has '-nggir' at this place.
15. Read : °lair.
16. The inscription of Papringan has 'vli' at this place.
17. The same has 'rudra,' after this word.
18. The preceding mutilated portion is filled up with the help of the same.
19. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
20. A Mal.-Ploynesian day of the five-day week.
21. Unfortunately here is a lacuna.
22. Over this name, see Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
23. Or : '. . . . *gusti*-s (viz.) *Si* Dai, *Si* Patiḥ, *Si* . . . . .
24. According to Stutterheim *tuha buru*=Inspector of games

XLIV

THE PILLAR OF SALIMAR II (NANGGULAN II). 802 ŚAKA.

This stone-pillar, according to Brandes,[1] was obtained from the district of Nanggulan in the residency of Jogjakarta[2]. It is now preserved at the Jakarta Museum where it is numbered D.46. An impression of this record is mentioned in the *Notulen* 1869 Bijl. N, but this appears to remain untraced[3]. Regarding this pillar, Dr. Brandes[4] furnished some particulars in 1887. He said that the pillar is round, with a round top and a four-sided pedestal. It is very much weather-beaten and the inscription runs about the stone in a spiral form. It is written in Old-Javanese script of Central Java, but the characters are bolder than those of the previous one. It was earlier possessed by Pangeran Soeria Nĕgara then and was later on presented to the Batavia Society by Raden Saleh. It measures 44 c.m. in height, 31 in diameter; the pedestal is 14 c.m. in height and 29 in breadth. It is monolithic and contains 9 lines of writing. The year was previously read as 804 Śaka by Brandes. Damais[5] reads the year as 802 Śaka, the exact date corresponding to 10th Oct, 880 A.D.

The inscription records the foundation of a free-hold in the woods of Salimar by the *pamgat* Balakas (viz.) Pu Balahāra in 802 Śaka. It appears to refer to his grant of lands to the *rāmanta*-s of Pakuvangi.

The transcription of this record has been published in *OJO* where it bears no. XV.

TEXT

‖ 0 ‖ svasti śakavarṣātīta 802 kārtikamāsa[6] tithi tṛtiya[7] śuklapakṣa mavulu pahing somavāra tatkāla si pamgat balakas pu balahāra manusuk

sīma ing alas i salimar[8] mahaka[9] ikanang lmaḥ rāmanta i pakuvangi
kalang si tĕman gusti si valasaramya kalima si saras si
sa i tinavuhan si taji s gusti i sūkveḥ si limū kalima si tungkak
gusti ing kavī si guṇya parujar si mangĕn si upavi kung partaya
sang bikrama variga si jangka si vurusvata variga gala si tuḍuk
hulair) si ulup si vuvvas tuha bang si vurhya si si
pĩṇḍya(ng) tūha i tanggil si nungaḥ si ulup si varud si la
k tuhalas hadyan si pangaṇu si sĕki si nikaha si kuñci[10] hulu vuatan si
vurugul vahuta si laing pu lubāḥ tuha paḍahi si
nūṣa marga si bulaḥ hyang i patahunan si kumbaḥ ‖ 0 ‖

TRANSLATION

‖ 0 ‖ Hail! The Śaka year expired, 802, the month of Kārtika, third day of the bright half of the month, *mavu'u*,[11] *pahing*[12] Monday. At that time, the *pamgat* of Balakas (viz) Pu Ba'ahāra marked out a free-hold in the woods of Salimar (and) gave away(?) the lands (to) the *ramanta*-s of Pakuvangi[13]: the *kalang* (viz.) *Si* Tĕman·····the *gusti* (viz.) *Si* Valasaramya; the *kalima*-s (viz.) *Si* Saras, *Si*·····of Tinavuhan (?), Si Taji·····the *gusti* of Sūkveḥ (viz.) *Si* Limū; the *kalima* (viz.) *Si* Tungkak; the *gusti* of Kavī (viz.) *Si* Guṇya; the *parujar*-s (viz.) *Si* Mangān, *Si* Upavi····· *partaya* (viz.) *Sang* Bikrama; the *variga*-s (viz.) *Si* Jangka, *Si* Vurusvata; the *variga* of Gala····· *Si* Tuḍuk; the hulair-s (viz.) *Si* Ulup, *Si* Vuvvas; the *tuha*-s of Bang (?)·····*Si* Vurhya, *Si*.....*Si* Pĩṇḍya(ng); the *tuha*-s·····of Tanggil (viz.) *Si* Nungaḥ,[14] *Si* Ulup, *Si* Varud, *Si*····· the *tuhalas*-es (viz.) the *hadyan*[15] Pangaṇu *si* Sĕki, *Si* Nikaha, *Si* Kuñci; the *hulu vuatan*[16](viz.) *Si* Vurugul; the *vahuta* (viz.) *Si*·····*Pu*····· the *tuha paḍahi* (viz.) *Si* Nūṣa; the *marga*[17] (viz.) Si Bulaḥ·····*hyang*[18] of Patahunan (viz.) *Si* Kumbaḥ ‖ 0 ‖

1. *Catalogus Groeneveldt*, p. 389. See also Verbeek, *Oudheden*, p. 164.
2. According to the conjecture of Rouffaer (*Notulen*, 1909, XXXX), it was obtained from Kali Govok. In this connexion, See Stutterheim in *TBG*, 73, pp. 97-99.
3. *OJO*, pp. 17, 18 (notes).
4. *Op. cit.*
5. *BEFEO* 46(1952) p. 41
6. Usually : °rt °
7. Skt. : °tīyā.
8. This improvement upon the reading of Brandes is due to Dr. Crucq. See *TBG*, 73, p. 97.
9. Probably we have to read here (u)mchaka(n) which occurs in a corresponding place of the inscription of Papringan (*TBG*, 73, p. 99).
10. The text in *OJO* stood as : '. . . .panganusi sĕki sinikaha sikuñci. . . .'
11. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
12. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
13. Hereover see Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 99.
14. Or : '. . . . of Tanggil sinungaḥ . . . .'
15. This is an honourable title. Another possible translation is : '. . . panganus of Sĕki . . .'
16. According to Stutterheim (*op. cit.*, p. 101), *hulu vuatan*=Inspector of Bridges.
17. According to Stutterheim (*op. cit*), *marga* (=*mārga*)= Inspector of Roads. This interpretation is open to some objections. The word *marga* doubtless means 'road', but we have probably here *marga(ng)* or *margga(ng)*, i.e., the head of the cymbal-players. It is a highly noticeable fact that the word *marga* appears in association with the group of musicians.
18. The remnant of *hyang* shows that some kind of ecclesiastical officer has been aimed here by.

XLV

THE PILLAR OF SALIMAR III (PAPRINGAN) 802 ŚAKA.

In May, 1933, Mr. Djojodikoeno found a little pillar from *desa* Papringan, Kĕcamatan Dĕmangan, District Koṭa Gĕde in the division of Bantul, residency Jogjakarta.[1] On this pillar is inscribed a record in 9 lines. It may be remembered in this connection that two other similar columns of the same person have been obtained from the neighbourhood of Prambanan and from Nanggulan. Of these 3 pillars, those of Prambanan and Papringan are very closely related, so far as their contents are concerned. The variations that are noticeable on the pillar-inscription of Prambanan are ascribed by Stutterheim[2] to the faulty readings of Dr. Brandes. This agreement between the records of Prambanan and Papringan may be due to the fact that these pillars were found not far from each other and that they possibly refer to the self-same freehold.

The pillar no. III stands on a four-sided pedestal, wherefrom the shaft emerges with a round top. The pedestal is about 30 c.m. in the four-sides, the top measuring about 30 c.m. in diameter. The former is 26 c.m. and the second is 42 c.m. in height. The year was read as 804 Śaka by Stutterheim. Damais[4] reads the year as 802 ; according to him the exact date corresponds to 10th Oct, 880 A.D.

The inscription records the foundation of a free-hold in the woods of Salimar by the *pangat* Balakas (viz.) *Pu* Balahāra in 802 Śaka. It appears to refer to his grant of lands to the *rāmanta*-s of Kaṇḍang.

The transcription of this record has been published by Dr. Stutterheim[4] with elaborate commentary.

TEXT

(Svasti) śakavarṣātīta 802 kārtikamāsa tithi tṛtīya[5] śuklapakṣa mavūlū pahing somavāra tatkāla sang pamgat balakas pu balahāra manusuk sīma

ing alas i salimar (u)meḥbakĕn nikanang lmaḥ rāmanta i kaṇḍang kalang si vama. gusti ngai. si patiḥ si pingul si liviḥ. kalima ma(r)vvut. si -thi vikil si bunu. gusti (ing) vualu si pupul. parujar si panamvan si mula partaya piḍaḥ vinkas si nāḍaḥ. varigi si sari. si tiruan variga galaḥ si -nggir. hulair si vli. si rudra. tuha buru si mahi si guvai si pandol tuhalas i tangkil si --kan si pulung. si bant(a)l si vuhung tuhalas hadian si ḍikaḥ si sampur si madyus si (v)agarg tuha paḍahi si hli. mārga si hli. mapkan si avit. vahuta si agya. hulu kuvu si mujul. hu(lu) vuattan si vul'ak marhyang si brahmā si ran(da) si (th)ibang. si --marhyang i patahunan si jubung vihārasvāmi[6] si tiruan si (tvör) ‖ 0 ‖

TRANSLATION.

(Hail !) The Śaka year expired, 802, the month of Kārtika, third day of the bright half of the month, *mavulu*,[7] *paḥing*,[8] Monday. At that time, *sang pamgat* of Balakas (viz.) Pu Balahāra marked out a free hold in the forest of Salimar[9] (and) gave away the lands (to) the *rāmanta*-s of Kaṇḍang : the *kalang* (viz.) Si Vama ; the *gusti* s of Ngai[10] (viz.) *Si* Patiḥ, *Si* Liviḥ ; the *kalima* s (of) Ma(r)vvut[11] (viz.) *Si* - thi vikil (and) *Si* Bunu ; the *gusti* (of) *Vualu* (viz.) *Si* Pupul ; the *parujar*-s (viz.) *Si* Panamvan, *Si* Mula ; the *partaya* (viz.) Piḍaḥ ;[12] the *vinkas* (viz.) Si Nāḍaḥ ; the *variga*-s (viz.) *Si* Sari (and) *Si* Tiruan ; the *variga* (of) Galaḥ (viz.) *Si* -nggir ; the *hulair*-s (viz.) *Si* Vli (and) *Si* Rudra ; the *tuha buru*-s (viz.) *Si* Mahi, *Si* Guvai (and) *Si* Pendol ; the *tuhalas*-es of Tangkil (viz.) *Si* - - kan, *Si* Pulung, *Si* Bant(a)l (and *Si* Vuhung ; the *tuhalas-es* (viz.) *hadian Si* ḍikaḥ, *Si* Sampur, *Si* Madyus (and) *Si* (V)agang ; the *tuha paḍahi* (viz.) *Si* Hli ; the *mārga* (viz.) *Si* Hli ; the *mapkan* si Avit ; the *vahuta* (viz.) *Si* Agya ; the *hu'u kuvu* (viz.) *Si* Mujul ; the *hu(lu) vuattan* (viz.) Si Vullak ; the *marhyang*-s (viz.) *Si* Brahmā, *Si* Ran(da), *Si* (Th)ibang (and) *Si* - - ; the *marhyang* of Patahun-n (viz.) *Si* Jubung ; the *vihāra svamī*-s[13] (viz.) *Si* Tiruan (and) *Si* (Tvör) ‖ 0 ‖

1. *TBG*, 73, p. 96.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
3. *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 41
4. *TBG* 73, pp. 96-101
5. Skt. : °yā.
6. Skt. °mī.
7. A Mal -Polynesian day of the six-day week.
8. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
9. On the joint-testimony of the inscriptions of Prambanan and Nanggulan, Stutterheim supposes that, as they refer to the forests of Salimar, it is just possible that in the beginning of the 9th Śaka century, the region to the south of the Mĕrapi was not wholly cultivated. The name of *Kalasan* in the record of 778 A.D. may be significant from that point of view. See *TBG* 73, pp. 98-99.
10. Or : '. . . . the *gusti* (viz.) (*Si*) Ngai, *Si* Patiḥ . . . .'
11. Or : '. . . . the *kalima*-s (viz.) (*Si* Ma(r)vut, *Si* . . . . :
12. *Sang* Pi(ḍaḥ) in *OJO* XIV.
13. Lit. 'the lord of a *vihāra*.' According to Stutterheim, 'the inspector of a cloister (?)'

XLVI

COPPER-PLATES OF VUATAN TIJA (MANGGUNG), 802 (?) ŚAKA

Two copper-plates were discovered about 1924 from *desa* Manggung, Kalurahan Ngalang, no. 57, in the subdivision of Nglipar, district Vanasari, regency Gunung Kidul, residency Jogjakarta.[1] Of these two plates, one (fragment-Resink) was purchased from Jogjakarta and came to the possession of Mrs. Resink-Wilkens, while the other plate (Museum-fragment) was sent to the Oudh.Bur. in 1925. Dr. Stutterheim[2] published a transcription of the former plate in 1925; in the following year Dr. Bosch[3] gave a reading of the second plate. It was Prof. Krom[4] who first recognised that the two plates form part and parcel of a single inscription. That this is so, appears clearly from several considerations. Both the fragments refer to king Lokapāla who founded a free-hold as a token of favour to his son *dyah* Bhūmijaya. The fragment-Resink breaks in the middle of a curse-formula, while the Museum-fragment opens with it. Both the plates are approximately of the same size : the fragment-Resink measures 34·5 x 12 c.m., while the Museum-fragment is 35.5 x 11 c.m. Above all, both the plates have been obtained from the selfsame place.

While examining the Museum-fragment, Dr. Stutterheim observed that one side of this plate contains an undeciphered inscription dating from (80)2 śaka. Of the three numerals of this date, the reading of 2 is certain : the other two are only probable.[5] A provisional reading of this inscription which is more or less illegible has been published by Stutterheim along with a translation and some explanatory notes.[6] It now appears quite likely that we have here the beginning of the whole inscription. As has happened in some cases, the copyist left one side of the first plate vacant, thinking that he would be able to complete the whole inscription on the remaining three sides. As his expectation was not

fulfilled, he was constrained to utilise the unwritten face of the first plate for completing his inscription. This view, propounded by Stutterheim,[7] appears acceptable to me.

I offer below a provisional translation of this inscription.

TEXT

(MUSEUM-FRAGMENT)

VERSO

1. ‖ 0 ‖ svasti (śaka)va(rṣātīta) (80)2 poṣyamāsa (tithi) pañcamī śu(kla) pakṣa. h(y)a po bu vāra (u)ttar(ā)ṣā(dhā) nakṣatra (dhruva) yoga tatkāla rakryān mānak ka

2. (va)vā deni ari nira rakryān la(ṇ)dhayan tinurunna(k)ĕn sira (mara) sira ri tangar maturunnapuy sira ri taas. dyaḥ bhūmi uminggat mangidul mareng tasik

3. kapangguḥ ikang vanua i vuatan tija denira ya ta humurip sira sa(ng) rumakṣa ya ta umvāttakan sira ing haji. menak pva amrat śrī mahārāja -e

4. .....(ikanang vvang) vuatan tija.....ma(ng)rahatti ya dina-makannya mas su 4 muang vdihan gañjar haji yu 2 muang siliḥ..... .....(lavay sarma.....tava ni).....

5. .....anugrahākan nira ryyanak nira dyaḥ bhūmi tadaḥ haji pun-ggul sira mani..... (lana) nira pu sarāpan ya humurip sira..... (ta)... ... ...

6. ... ...tuha kalang pu (th)orot tuha vanua pu (tinggi-) muang patiḥ ri... ... ...

7. ... .vinēkas pu avas rama ni sukri... .. ...patiḥ... ... ...

8. ... ...

FRAGMENT-RESINK

RECTO

1. muta - - - ri vruhanyan turunya anugraha śrī mahārāja ik n
vanua i an tija māryya yan va'ēk vintri samgat vintrī rikā ang
la punaryya mavuang tamyang vi (kā)-
vuda

2. - - - siran māryya vatēk vintri ikā vanua i vuatan tija dyaḥ l
pramāṇā riya salvir ni sukhaduḥkhanya pangguḥbanya mas n hūmi
m ia vuru vuruan 2 i satahun 8

3. t ing gui nira pan·kēlana susur anugraha śrī m
adaḥ ha pung momaḥumaḥhakan dyaḥ bhūmi ahārāja
ryy an·k nira dyaḥ bhūmi | sa gat

4. pinapan samgat tavva sa
sukhapangg rake tulangan dinammakan ikang rama a
byapāranya npanadaḥ n uang ikang patiḥ vahuta | m muv ḥ
sahana ning m nm tpi siringnya uang
su 3

5. vanua ıben nparan nika rāma pratanda rama ni tivi | anak
srai vatak halang si milu rama ni kanyā anak vanua i halang vanua
saragva a(s ilr(ai) vatak

6. g) ıl anak vanua i tpung sugiḥ vatak anggul ai
(h·n rama ni anggu ni vinēkas hurip n ni vadō ka'ang
i kupu si amvir rama n' rāghu v ē 3 si rama tuha
kalang ri (b)ḍalua si ko rama ni kabikuan i ma

7. pal rama ni ja'gh)i v ēkas si gavil un n si n gusti h dyoran
si bobo kaki malavang | i gun ga ohan i tukir si anton
vinē u v as i madis si totoḥ

8. kas i v at si vanū rama ni davir inēkas vuh asa rama
ni padōvan tuha paḍahi si rinḍa rama ni aru t'as mi imoha[8] mana-
ḍaḥ sa'ha

9. na nikā sang patiḥ vahuta muang ika magamman[9] kabeh muang ikā tpi siringnya ri vanua kabeḥ huvus manaḍaḥ vruḥ ya kabeḥ ni pagēḥ ni anugraha śrī mahārā

VERSO

1. ja an dyaḥ bhūmi pramāṇa nikā vanua i vuatan tija salvir ning sukhaduḥkhanya kabeḥ tan katamāna dening mangilala drabya haji | dyaḥ bhūmi ataḥ pramāṇa rika va

2. nua i vuatan tija | mangkāna anugraha śrī mahārāja rake lokapā a
ryy anak nira dyaḥ bhūm ijaya | kinon ta sang vahuta hyang kudur
umagēhakna ya kumannakna[10] ikang sa

3. aja[11] i harēpan ning vahuta patiḥ muang sahana nikā tanayan
vanua i vuatan tija muang satpi siringnya kabeḥ mangadag[12] sang
vahuta hyang kudur īndaḥ ta kita

4. hyang bāprakeśvara[13] brahmā viṣṇu maheśvara ravi śaśi[14] kṣiti jala
pavana | hutāśana | yajamāna ākāśa kāla mṛtyu gaṇa bhūta siddhyā-
dhaya[15] ahorātri[16] yama ba

5. runakuvera bāsapava[17] yakṣa rākṣasa piśāca | rāmadevatā | preta
asurā garuḍa[18] gandharva grahā[18] kinnara vidyadhara[19] | deva-
putra nandīśvara mahākāla | nāgarāja |

6. vināya kā[18] | durgādevī | kita tuvi sakveḥ ta devatā | prasiddha
mangk ṣakaḍatuan śrī mahārāja i bhūmi i mataram kita umasuk
i hat nikanang vang kabeḥ tan

7. kavnang tinahan yāpuan hana anyāya lumangkah ang śāsana
langghana ājñā haji um aburra[20] ike vanua i vu(a)tan tija | sīma
anugraha śrī mahārāja ryy ak nira

8. dyaḥ bhū jaya ndaḥ pangan ta kamung hyang duduk hatinya
savvittakan[21] vtangnya[22] rantan ususnya uḍulakan pahungnya
vētuakan da mm anya | tampyal i vira [23] mevahi

9. i 'angannan[24] yan para ing alas pangannin[25] ning[26] mong patukan ning[27] ulā | pulirakna ni devamanyuḥ | yan hana[28] ya i tĕgal pangannin ning[29] glap panganan ning[30] vuil sang pamungvan

10. sampalaning rākṣasa **araḥ kita** hyang **kuṣikagargametri**[31] kurump-(u)[32] pātañjalā[33] suvuk **lor** kidul **kuluan vetan** buangakan ing **ākāśa | salamvitakna ning**[34]

MUSEUM-FRAGMENT.

RECTO

1. hyang kabeḥ tibākēna ing samudra klammakna **ing** vṛṣabhamukha. tĕtĕlakna ing vatu ḍavuhan i dalammair ḍudutan ni tuviran sĕpahan ni vuhaya angkēnan matya ikanang vang anyā[35]

3. ya. ahamĕngana[36] havu kerir upadravā ing devata.[37] kadi syuḥ nikāng hantĕlu hayam tan baluy matpung[38] umiliha ing naraka tumiba ing mahārorava[39] hitipan ni ka

3. vaḥ sayēng makingkara i vulatta kita hyang **candrāditya** mangkana uliḥ hana nikanang manyāya langghanā i ājñā haji asing lumĕbura ikeng vanua i vuatan tija śīma[40] panga

4. nugrahā śri mahārāja rake lokapāla[41] **ryyanak** nira dyaḥ Bhū-mijaya ‖ 0 ‖

TRANSLATION

(MUSEUM-FRAGMENT)

VERSO

1. | O | Hail ! The śaka year expired, (80)2, the month of Pauṣa, 5th day of the bright half of the month, *haryang*,[42] *pon*,[43] Wednesday, (while) the lunar mansion Uttarāṣāḍhā (stood under the deity Viśva during) the conjunction of Dhruva. At that time, the *rakryān* Mānak[44]

2. was carried off by his enemy,[45] the *rakryān* Laṇḍayan. He was brought down (from the carriage ?) (and died (?) at Tangar (and) was burnt at Taas.[46] *Dyaḥ* Bhūmi fled southwards in the direction of the sea

3. (and) reached the village at Vuatan tija. The aim of him was that he might remain in life. His protectors brought him to the king. The illustrious great king was extremely delighted… …

4. the people of Vuatan tija. For offering their services, they were presented with gold 4 *suvarṇa* and *gañjar haji*-cloth 2 sets and different cloths … … …

5. … … favour of him for his son *dyaḥ* Bhūmi. Taḍaḥ haji (of) Punggul[47] … … (stood by) him, *Pu* Saṭāpan who protected his life … …

6. the *tuha kalang* (viz.) *Pu* (Th)orot, the *tuha vanua* (viz.) *Pu* (Tinggi-) and the *patiḥ* of

7. … … **the *vinĕkas* (viz.)** *Pu* Avas (who is) the father of Sukri-… … the *patiḥ*.

8. … … … …

FRAGMENT-RESINK.

RECTO

1. (That is) the reason[48] (why) due notice should be taken of the bestowal of the favour of the illustrious great king in respect of the village at Vuatan tija which (henceforward) ceases to be under Vintri. The *Samgat* Vintri at this time was again placed in charge of Tamyang…

2. … … … (because) the village at Vuatan tija ceased to be under Vintri. *Dyaḥ* Bhūmi shall hold sway over this (and over) all of its

good and bad events. Its receipt shall be gold 8 *māṣa* and 2 wild doves (?) in each year.

3. Taḍaḥ haji (of) Punggul shall distribute (this) gift (?). (Such is) the favour of the illustrious great king for his son *dyaḥ* Bhūmi (when he) took *dyaḥ* Bhūmi home. *samgat* Pinapan, *samgat* Savyan, *samgat*

4. Sukhapanggil (and) the *raka* of Tulangan received gifts. The *rāma*-s also (received) gold 5 *suvarṇa*. The occasion thereof is that they may eat with the *patiḥ*-s, *vahuta*-s and the *magēman*-s, (and) the neighbours

5. of all villages. The names of the *rāma*-s (are): the *pratanḍa*,[49] father of Tivi, resident of Srai under Halang; *Si* Milu, father of Kanyā, resident of Halang under Saragva ... ...

6. ... ... father of Anggul, resident of Tpung sugiḥ under Anggul; the *kalang* of Kupu (viz.) *Si* Amvir, father of Rāghu; the *vinēkas* (viz.) *Si* Hurip, father of Vadö; the *tuha kalang* of (B)ḍalua (viz.) *Si* Kopal.

7. father of Ja(gh)i; the *vinēkas* (viz.) Si Gavil;[50] the *rāma* of the cloister at Madyoran; *Si* Bobo, the grandfather of Malavang;[51] *Si* Nohan of Gunungan; the *gusti* of Tukir (viz.) *Si* Hanton; the *vinē-*

8. *kas* of Vuat (viz.) *Si* Vanū, father of Davir; the *vinēkas* of Vunmadis (viz.) *Si* Totoḥ, father of Padövan; the *tuha paḍahi* (viz.) *Si* Rinḍa, father of Aru. Thereafter all

9. of the *patiḥ*-s, *vahuta*-s and all the *magēman*-s and the neighbours of all villages ate together. After the completion of eating, all of them learnt the fixed character of the favour of the illustrious great king

VERSO

1. regarding *dyaḥ* Bhūmi who shall (henceforward) lord over the village at Vuatan tija (and over) all of its good and bad events. All (these)

may not be interfered with by the 'collectors of royal dues', (because) *dyaḥ* Bhūmi is the only lord of the

2. village at Vuatan tija. Such is the favour of the illustrious great king (viz.) *rake* Lokapāla,[52] for his son *dyaḥ* Bhūmijaya. *Sang vahuta hyang* (of the) *kudur* was now requested to confirm this (favour) (and) utter the (customary) oath

3. in the presence of the *vahuta*-s, *patiḥ*-s and all the residents[53] of Vuatan tija as well as all the neighbours. *Sang vahuta hyang* (of the) *kudur* stood up (and said): "Be gracious, you

4. gods Baprakeśvara, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, Sun, Moon, earth, water, wind, fire, the sacrificing host, ether, Time, Death, *gaṇa*(s), *bhūta*(s), the two twi-lights, day and night, Yama,

5. Varuṇa, Kuvera, Vāsava, *Yakṣa*(s), *rākṣasa*(s), *piśāca*(s), god Rāma, *preta*(s), *asura*(s), Garuḍa, *gandharva*(s), planets, *kinnara*(s), *Vidyā-dhara*(s), sons of deities, Nandīśvara, Mahākāla, the king of serpents,

6. Vināyaka, goddess Durgā, also you all deities[54] who are known to protect the *kraton* of the illustrious great king in the country of Mataram, you who penetrate into the heart

7. of all men without being suspected! If anybody unjustly overrides the injunctions, violates the royal command (and) destroys the village at Vuatan tija,—a free-hold (that arises) out of the favour of the illustrious great king for his son

8. *dyaḥ* Bhūmijaya—(then), be gracious, you gods, to eat him up! His heart may be plucked out; his belly may be ripped open; his intestines may be rooted out; his voice may be choked up (?); his entrails may be drawn out. He may be struck on the left side, again

9. on the right side. When he goes to the forest, he may be devoured by the tiger, bitten by the snake, whirled round and round by the

anger of gods. When he goes to the fields, he may be struck[55] by the lightning, eaten up by the titan,

10. torn to pieces by the *rākṣasa*-s while he stands on. O, you deities: Kauśika, Garga, Maitrī, Kuruṣya, Patañjala, guardians (?) of the north, south, west and east! He may be thrown down from the firmament, he may be flung by

MUSEUM-FRAGMENT

RECTO

1. all gods, he may be thrown into the sea, he may be dipped into (the hell-pan with) the head of the buffalo, he may be squeezed into the stones of the dyke. In the depth of the water, he may be torn into pieces by the *rākṣasa* (and) masticated by the crocodile. Thus dies the unrighteous person

2. leaving as regards be[ing] said to be blown away by the tormentors of gods! Just as the lesser yellow parti[cles] of the egg of the hen cannot again be united, (so his fate may be)! He may be selected in the hell to be thrown into the *mahārauravā* hell, into the depth of

3. copper-made hell-pan by the servants of Yama.[56] May you deities, Sun and Moon, see this! Such is the fate of the person who unjustly violates the royal command (and) who destroys the village at Vuatan tija,—a free-hold that has arisen out of the

4. favour of the illustrious great king (viz.) *rake* Lokapāla for his son *dyah* Bhūmijaya ‖ 0 ‖

FOOTNOTES

1. *OV*, 1926, pp. 37, 60; *TBG*, 75, p. 437.
2. *OV*, 1925, Bijl. K, pp. 172-173, with corrections in *TBG*, 75, p. 439, f.n. 1.
3. *OV*, 1926, Bijl. B, p. 60 with corrections of Stutterheim in *TBG*, *op. cit*,
4. *Geschiedenis*. p. 224, f.n. 3.
5. *TBG*, 75, (1935) p 442. See also Damais, *TBG* 83 (1949) p. 2ff.
6. *TBG*, *op. cit.*, pp. 437-443.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 440.
8. Read : °muha.
9. The usual spelling is : magĕman.
10. Usually : kumona°.
11. Skt : śapatha.
12. Usually : °adĕg. In this inscription, as in some others, *a* has frequently been used for *ĕ*.
13. The usual form is : ba°.
14. Skt. : śaśī.
15. Skt. : sandhyā°.
16. This is incorrect according to Skt. grammar. We should have °rātra.
17. Read : Vāsava.
18. For the closing *ā*, one should read in Skt. : a.
19. Skt : vidyā°,
20. Usually : luměbura.
21. Usually : sĕbita°.
22. Usually we read : vtĕ.°
23. Read : viraṅgan.
24. Usually : tĕngĕnan.
25. Read : panganĕn.
25. Read : ing. The use of the initial *n* appears to be due to its contamination with the last letter of the previous word.
27. Read : ing. The use of initial *n* appears to be due to its contamination with the last letter of the previous word.
28. In other inscriptions, we find at this place *para*.
29. We should expect here : sambĕrĕn ing.
30. Read : panganan ing.
31. Read : kuśikagargamaitrī.
32. Read : kuruṣya.

33. Read : patañjala.
34. Read : ring.
35. This is the reading of Stutterheim in *TBG*, 75. p. 439 f.n. 1. Bosch read : *seng*kanan matya ikanadra anyā.
36. So reads Stutterheim. Bosch read : *ahaminganna*.
37. Skt : °tā.
38. So reads Stutterheim. Bosch read : matlu.
39. The correct Skt. form is °raura°.
40. Bosch read : tridaśima. Stutterheim suggests the above correction.
41. Bosch read : *vlu* kapila. For the above correction, see Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p. 224 f. n. 3 ; Stutterheim, *op. cit.*
42. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
43. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
44. Stutterheim says (*op. cit.*, p. 410 f. n. 2 and p. 441) that *rakryān* Mānak may be a female *kraton*-functionary, be she a mother of one of the king's children or an attendant thereof. Doubt is raised to this conception of the text by the occurrence of a *patiḥ mānak* in *OJO* XXX : v.° 10 which may be translated in two different ways : (a) the *patiḥ* (of) Mānak and (b) the Hon. *patiḥ*. Similar interpretations may be put to the above passage. We merely record here that there are other possibilities than that furnished by Stutterheim.
45. Stutterheim translates by 'younger brother'.
45. According to Stutterheim : 'That is time (when) Rakryān Mānak, carried off by his (her ?) younger brother Rakryān Landayan, was placed down (and) died (?) at Tangar (and) was burnt at Taas'.
    In whichever way we translate the passage, there is no doubt that it refers to a *kraton*-intreague.
47. It is difficult to say what is denoted by Taḍahaji Punggul, though we offer the above provisional translation. The phrase occurs in several other inscriptions, e. g., in *KO* XV : A. 4. ; *OJO* XVIII : 4 ; the Kĕdu inscription (*TBG*, 67, p. 207). See the remarks of Stutterheim, *op cit.*, p. 439 f n. 1 and p. 443.
48. The word *mata* is probably the remnant of *matangnyan*.
49. His functions are not known.
50. Or : *Si* Gavil, father of Kabikuan, of Madyoran.
51. Or : *Si* Bobo of Madyoran, the grandfather of Malavang.
52. Regarding *rake* Lokapāla, specially the title, see Damais, *TBG*, 83 (1949) p. 3 ff.

53. The writer has used *tanayan vanua* in stead of the usual *anak vanua*.
54. This may refer to apotheosised kings. See Stutterheim in *TBG*, 67, p. 188.
55. The text appears to contain a mistake. See the emendation on the text.
56. *Kingkara* specially signifies the servants of Yama.

XLVII

THE COPPER-PLATE OF TARAGAL (POLENGAN VI), ŚAKA 802

This plate is preserved in the Museum of Yogyakarta. Its photo and estampage there are respectively numbered OD 13709 and 2868. It has not yet been properly edited. The first few lines of this record has been transcribed by Damais in *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 36[1]. The record is dated in 802 Śaka; the exact date, according to Damais, corresponds to 20th Nov., 881.

TEXT

1. // svasti śakavarṣātīta 802 phālguṇamāsa. tritīya kṛṣṇapakṣa tunglai kaliwuan soma vāra. tatkāla rakarayān i sirikan, sumusuk ikanang sa

2. vaḥ ing taragal lamwit |
tampaḥ 2 muang lmaḥ ning
sukēt kacā lmaḥ i rutan
vatēk trab... ... ...

TRANSLATION

1. Hail! The Śaka year expired, 802, the month of Phālguna, third day of the dark half of the month, *tunglai*,[2] *kaliwon*,[3] Monday. At that time, the *Rakarayān i Sirikan* marked off the

2. *savah*-fields at Taragal (measuring) *lamvit* 1, *tampah* 2 and the land of Sukēt,[4] all the lands at Ruhutan under Trab ... ...

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1. See also *OV* 1938 p. 19.
2. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
3. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
4. Heseems to be Sukat of the copper-plates of Tunahan, Jurungan, Halivangbang.

XLVIII

THE STONE OF PĒṆḌĒM, 803 ŚAKA

This stone is at present preserved at the Jakarta Museum where it is numbered D. 62. The stone is very much weather-beaten and illegible. Krom[1] read the date as 804 but Damais has read it as 803 Śaka. The following transcription is based upon the reading of Damais in *TBG* 83 (1949) pp. 19 ff and *BEFEO* 47 (1955) pp. 36-37. According to him,[2] the date corresponds to 19th March, 881 A.D.

TEXT

1. svasti śakavarṣātita 803 caitramāsa tihi pañcadaśi śuklapakṣa paniruan pahing
2. ādityavāra tatkāla rake sikhalān pu l āmā manusuk ṣī(ma) ··· ...
3. śrī ... ... hamat ratu tatkāla rake kayuvangi. patiḥ rake hino pu a
4. ku rake vka pūding[3] rake halaran pu *kbi* rake ... ··· pu manghu
5. ri[4] vadihati pu manundut makudur pu ma··· ...

TRANSLATION

1. Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 803, the month of Caitra, fifteenth day of the bright half of the month, *paniruan*,[5] *pahing*[6]
2. Sunday. At that time, the Raka of Sikhalān (?) (viz) *Pu* Hāmā (?) marked off the freehold . . . . .

3. ··· ··· ··· The king at that time was *Raka* of Kayuvangi, the *Patih* was the *Raka* f Hino (viz .) *Pu*
4. Aku, the *Raka* of Vka was *Pu* Uding,[3] , the *Raka* of Halaran was *Pu* Kbi (?), the *Raka* of ··· ··· *Pu* Manghuri[4] ,
5. the *Vadihat* is *Pu* Manundut, the *Makudur* is Ma ··· ···

FOOTNOTES

1. *TBG* 53 (1911) p. 244
2. *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 41.
3. According to Damais, here is an application of the Sandhi-rule, viz. Pu Uding=Pū-ding. See *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 37 f.n. 1. This remark of Damais should however be subjected to the observation that Old-Jav. writers have not always carefully distinguished between *u* and *ū* in their writings.
4. Manghuri, normally an official title, appears here to be the name of a person. cf. Damais, *op. cit.*, f.n. 3.
5. A Mal-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
6. A Mal-Polynesian day of the five-day week.

XLIX

THE COPPER PLATE OF RATAVUN I (Ngabean IV)
803 ŚAKA

This inscription was obtained in 1870 from the Magĕlang division of the residency of Kādu and was later on purchased by the Batavia Society where it is numbered E 9. It is incised on both the faces of a single copper-plate which measures 36 x 31 c.m.

The inscription records the foundation of a free-hold at Ratavun, for the *parhyangan* of Sĕmār, by the *rakarayān mapatiḥ i Vka* (viz.) *Pu* Catura, in the Śaka year 803. According to Damais,[1] the date corresponds to 14th July, 881 A.D.

The transcription and facsimile of this record have been published in *KO* where it bears no. XIV. The initial part of the inscription has also been published by Damais in *BEFEO*, 47 (1955) p. 37.

TEXT

A. 1. svasti śakavarṣātīta 803 śravaṇamāsa[2] tithi caturdaśi[2a] śukla, tung-lay, vagay,[3] śukra, tatkāla rakarayān. mapatiḥ i vka pu[4] catura, manusuk. tgal.

2. i ratavun, dadya savaḥ tampaḥ 2 śīmā[4a] ning parhyangan. i smār. mangasĕakan. sira pasĕk, pasĕk. i rakarayān.[5] mapatiḥ rake hino pu aku. samgat. bavang pu partha,

3 rake vatu tihang pu agra, rake śirikan.[6] pu purungul, kapua sira inangsĕan. mas. su 1 vḍihan. kalyāga yu 1 sovang sovang, rake halaran. pu dīpāngkā[7]

4. ra, panggil. hyang pūttarāsangga, dalinan. pu acung, manghuri pu kiti, pangkur. pu gava, tavān. pu rañjan, tirip. pu agrapiṇḍa, vadi-hati pu manū, makudur. pu mnang,

5. kapua inangsĕan. mas. mā 8 vḍihan. birā yu 1 sovang sovang, tuhān. ri vadihati miramiraḥ si bunil. mangrakappi[8] halaran. si larak, tuhān ni maku

6. dur. vangun. sugiḥ si śra kapua vinaiḥ mas. mā 4 (?) vḍihan. ragi yu 1 sovang sovang, kinon. manusukakna śīma, sang makudur. sang kusamvyan. pu raja kinannā

7. n[9] . sira pasĕk. pasĕk. mas. mā 4 vḍihan. ragi yu 1 pinakavulang-hulu vḍihan. yu 2 sang hyang brahmā vḍihan. yu 1 vras. kadut 1 vsi ikat 1 (10 ?) sang maka

8. lamvi haji pu manghaling madmak. i kuvu mas. mā 4 vḍihan. ragi yu 1 patiḥ ing vanua kalyan. pu sandiha parujar. nya si vuulu vḍihan. ragi yu 1 vahuta

9. amvul. si banda mas. mā 4 vḍihan. ragi yu 1 kain savlaḥ pitung-tungnya si angga mas. mā 1 vḍihan. ragi yu 1 anung rāma māgman. irikang kāla, tuha ka

10. lang si pahing rama ni andalan. mas. mā 2 vḍihan. ragi yu 1 kain. savlaḥ, tuha banua 2 si mangi kaki laṇḍa, si kalula kaki narang, gusti 3 si sangka ka

11. ki vadahuma, si parañji rama ni giri, si ngĕḥ rama ni kmir, variga si paraga rama ni vanda, huler 2 si taṇḍa rama ni burutu, si ananta rama ni sāla, parujar.

12. si nuru rama ni ratnī mas. mā 1 vḍihan. ragi yu 1 sovang sovang, tpi siring anuminu[10] irikāng susukan. śīma, kalang ṛu magyā gusti pu gavul. anak banua

13. i limvay, i jruk. kalang pu capaḥ rama ni ranggal. gusti pu vgĕr.

rama ni vīryya, i malandang gusti pu pujut. rakaki kaṭū[11] kalang pu ulih rama ni rimvit.

B. 1. i kasugihan. kalang pu tēngēran. rama ni vadvā gusti pu gandut. rama ni vēgu (?)[12] tuha paḍahi pu se rama ni jaya anak vanua i hivas. kapua vinaiḷ vḍiha

2. n. ragi yu 1 sovang sovang.

TRANSLATION

A. 1. Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 803, the month of Śrāvaṇa, fourteenth day of the bright half of the month, *tunglay*,[13] *vage*,[14] Friday. At that time, the *rakarayān mapatiḥ* of Vka (viz.) *Pu* Catura marked out the *tgal*-fields

2. of Ratavun to be made into *savaḥ*-fields, (measuring) *tampaḥ* 2. (These shall form) a free-hold for the temple of Sēmār.[15] He gave (on that occasion) gifts in ample measure to the *rakryan mapatiḥ*-s : the *raka* of Hino (viz.) *Pu* Aku, the *samgat* Bavang (viz.) *Pu* Partha,

3. the *raka* of Vatu tihang (viz.) *Pu* Agra, the *raka* of Śirikan (viz.) *Pu* Purungul. They all received gold 1 *suvarṇa* (and) *kalyāga*-cloth 1 set, each in particular. The *raka* of Halaran (viz.) *Pu* Dīpāngkā-

4. ra, the *panggil hyang* (viz.) *Pu* Uttarāsangga, the *dalinan* (viz.) *Pu* Acung. the *manghuri* (viz.) *Pu* Kiti, the *pangkur* (viz.) *Pu* Gava, the *tavān* (viz.) *Pu* Rañjan, the *tirip* (viz.) *Pu* Agrapiṇḍa, the *vadihati* (viz.) *Pu* Manū, the *makudur* (viz.) *Pu* Mnang ,

5. all (these) received gold 3 *māṣa* (and) *birā*-cloth 1 set, each in particular.[16] The *tuhān*-s of the *vadihati* : the *miramirah* (viz.) *Si* Bunil,

the *mangra(ng)kapi halaran* (viz.) *Si* Larak (and) the *tuhan* of the *makudur* :

6. the *vangun sugiḥ* (viz.) *Si* Śra ; all (of them) received gold 4 (?) *māṣa* and *ragi*-cloth 1 set, each in particular. The person sent (by) *sang makudur* to mark out the free-hold[17] : *Pu* Raja of Kusamvyan. He received

7. in ample measure gold 4 *māṣa* (and) *ragi*-cloth 1 set. (For) the *pinaka vulang hulu* (of the *makudur*)[18] : two sets of cloth. (For) *sang hyang* Brahmā[19] : 1 set of cloth, unbolstered rice 1 *kadut*, *vsi ikat* 1 (10 ?). *Sāng*

8. *makalamvi haji*[20] (viz.) Pu Manghaling, the *madmak* of the village, (received) gold 4 *māṣa* (and) *ragi*-cloth 1 set. The *patiḥ* of the village of Kalyan (viz.) *Pu* Sandiha,[21] his *parujar* (viz.) *Si* Vurulu (received) *ragi*-cloth 1 set, (each in particular ?)

9. The *vahuta* of Amvul (viz.) *Si* Banda (received) gold 4 *māṣa*, *ragi*-cloth 1 set (and) cotton-dress 1 piece ; his *pitungtung*[22] (viz.) *Si* Angga (received) gold 1 *māṣa* (and) *ragi*-cloth 1 set. The *rāma māgman*(s) of this time : the *tuha*

10. *kalang* (viz.) *Si* Pahing, father of Andalan, (received) gold 2 *māṣa*, *ragi*-cloth 1 set (and) cotton-dress 1 piece ; the two *tuha banua*-s ; *Si* Mangi (who is) the *kaki*[23] of Landa (and) *Si* Kalula (who is) the *kaki* of Narang ; the three *gusti*-s : *Si* Sangka (who is) the

11. *kaki* of Vadahuma, *si* Parañji (who is) the father of Giri, *Si* Ngēḥ (who is) the father of Kmir ; the *variga* (viz.) *Si* Paraga, father of Vanda ; the two *huler*-s : *Si* Taṇḍa, father of Burutu (and) *Si* Ananta, father of Sāla ; the *Parujar* (viz.)

12. *Si* Nuru, father of Ratnī ; (all these received) gold 1 *māṣa* (and) *ragi*-cloth 1 set, each in particular. (The chief) neighbours who went to the marked-out free-hold : the *kalang* (viz.) Pu Magyā ; the *gusti* (viz.) Pu Gavul, resident(s)

13. of Limvay ; the *kalang* of Jruk (viz.) Pu Capaḥ, father of Ranggal ; the *gusti* (viz.) Pu Vgĕr, father of Vĭryya ; the *gusti* of Malandang (viz.) Pu Pujut ; the *ra kaki*[24] of Kaṭū ; the *kalang* (viz.) Pu Ulilṇ, father of Rimvit ;

B. 1. th[illegible] *ang* of Kasugihan (viz.) Pu Tĕngĕran, father of Vadvā ; the *gusti* (viz.) Pu Gandut, father of Vĕgu (?) ; the *tuha paḍahi* (viz.) Pu Se, father of Jaya, resident(s) of Hivas. All (of them) received

2. *ragi*-cloth 1 [illegible] each in particular.
set,

FOOTNOTES

1.
2. *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 41
2a. Skt. : dasa°
3. Da[illegible]d drawn attention to h fact [illegible] words are normally [illegible]mais has alrea'y [illegible] See [illegible] 47 t e [illegible] p. 37 f.n. 6. that these
4. C[illegible]vri en as *tunglai, vagai* etc[illegible]n *Ibid.* (1955)
4a. The reading of cima by C. Stuart appears to be a [illegible]Stuart was e[illegible] this out[illegible]s his prescription [illegible]ti mistake.
5. Ea[illegible] rakayān. prin'ng
6. [illegible]rlier mis-read as : [illegible]u ta
7. cii.° o[illegible]r [illegible]rea[illegible]d [illegible]d a
C. S[illegible]art is evidently a prin'[illegible]r mis[illegible]ake.
C. Stur[illegible]t's [illegible]ding [illegible]pā° appears [illegible]e mistake.
8. Usually : [illegible]rangkpi.
9. [illegible]
10. Be[illegible]en : ki ĕ an. [illegible]n does not appear tenable.
B[illegible]r[illegible]es' reading of 'anu[illegible]r ilu' (*OJO* p. 266)
11. Bāṭū ?=Va[illegible]ı ? [illegible]c[illegible]d [illegible]d [illegible]ar
12. Such as C. Stuart has noti[illegible]ed, the me[illegible]ials of *ā* an[illegible] *ū* appe[illegible] jointly on *g*.
13. A Maḷ.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
14. A Ma[illegible]-Polynesian day of the five-day week[illegible]ar[illegible]d [illegible] father of [illegible]r
15. Sĕmăr as a deity is not known, unless it s[illegible]'s for Sĕmar, [illegible]re Pe[illegible]uk and Nalagareng who were believed to be heroes of the Javanese stage befo[illegible]: the advent of the Indian heroes into the Wayang shows. Vide Sarkar, *Indian influences on the literatare of Java and Bali*, p. 202. It is less likely, but not impossible, that the name represents the corrupt form of the name of Smara, the God of Love.

16. The grouping of persons and the amount of the endowed gold suggest the following grades of the important officers :
1st grade : (a) rakryan mapatiḥ ; vka (b) rake hino (c) samgat bavang (d) rake vatu tihang (e) rake sirikan.
2nd grade : (a) rake halaran (b) panggil hyang (c) dalinan (d) manghuri (e) pangkur (f) tavān (g) tirip (h) vadihati (i) makudur.
3rd grade : subordinate officers of the above two classes. It is possible that grade 1 is formed by executive officers and grade 2 by spiritual officers.
17. *Kinon manusukakna* appears to be the same as *tumūt manusuk* and *lumaku manusuk* of other inscriptions. *cf OJO* XII : 10 ; and *KO* XV : A. 14.
18. For this translation, *cf. OJO* XII. B. 7. Obviously these were meant to cover up the chest and the head.
19. The god of fire has probably been intended here.
20. The Hon. person dressed in jackets.
21. In previous inscriptions, the *patih* of Kalyan is Parama. The appearance of a new name suggests either his death or an important occurrence in his life.
22. From several inscriptions, he appears to be an officer under the *vahuta*.
23. *Kaki*=grand-father, village-officer. Perhaps the former is intended here.
24. This is an honourable title. *cf* 'the stone of Kandangan, (1.3) in *TBG*, 58 (1918) pp. 337 ff.

L

THE COPPER-PLATE OF RATAVUN II (NGABEAN V)

803 ŚAKA

This copper-plate was sent to the Batavia Society in 1893 by Mr. C. den Hamer for inspection.[1] The sender remarked that it was perhaps obtained from the Dieng plateau[2] and that it was later on despatched by the Regent of Banjumas to the late Pangeran Brata II. The inscription is not complete and measures 34 x 6.5 c.m.

It records that the *rakryān (m)apatiḥ* of Vka (viz.) Pu Catura marked off the *tgal*-fields of Ratavun, while his assistants marked out the *tgal*-fields of Kvak and the gardens of the cloister at Mulak. Lands were also set-marked for the free-hold of the temple at Lanḍa and the *dharmma* at Pastika. This happened in 803 Śaka.

The transcription of this record has been published in *OJO* XVI.[3] The Śaka year was previously read as 705. The correction to 803 is due to Damais[4] who thinks that the exact date is 14th July, 881 A.D.

TEXT

1. ‖ O ‖ siddhirastu ‖ svasti śakavarṣātīta 803 śrāvaṇamāsa, caturdaśi śukla, tu, va, śu, vāra, tatkāla rakryān apatiḥ i vka pu catura, manu

2. suk tgal i ratavun, dadya savaḥ tampaḥ 2 rovangnya sinusuk tgal pahalalangan i kvak, dadya savaḥ tampaḥ 2 muvaḥ rovangnya si(nu)suk

3. kbuan patapān i dadyanya savaḥ tampaḥ 2 simā ning prāsāda i landa tampaḥ 5 simā ning dharma umaḥ ing pastika tampaḥ 2 kinon manusuka

4. kna sīma, sang makudur sang kusambyan pu raja kinannān sira pasak pasak mas mā 5 vḍihan rangga yu 1 pinaka valang halu[5] vḍihan yu 2 sang hyang vra

5. hmā vḍihan yu 1 bras kadut 1 vsi ikat 1 sang makalambi haji pu manghaling madmak i kuvu, mas mā 5 vḍihan rangga yu 1 patiḥ ing vanua sang kalya

6. n pu sandiha parujanya[6] si vurulu vḍihan rangga yu 1 vahuta amvul si vanda mas mā 5 vḍihan rangga yu 1 kain savlaḥ pitu(ng)-turnya[7] syangga mas mā 1 vḍihan rangga yu 1

7. muvaḥ vahuta amvul pu canglu asintuk mas mā 1 vḍihan rangga yu 1 kain savlaḥ, tuha kalang si pahing rama ni andalan mas mā 2 vḍihan

8. rangga yu 1 ken savlaḥ, tuha vanua 2 si mangi kaki landa, si kalala kaki girang,[8] gusti 3 si sangka kaki vada humba si parañji rama ni giri, si ngĕh rama ni kmir

9. variga si paraga rama ni vanda. huler 2 si kaṇḍa,[9] rama ni vurutga.[10] si ananta rama ni sāla, parujar si tunu rama ni ratni mas mā 1 vḍihan

TRANSLATION

1. ‖ O ‖ Let there be success! ‖ Hail! The Śaka year expired, 803, the month of Śrāvaṇa, fourteenth day of the bright half of the month, *tunglay*,[11] *vage*,[12] Friday. At that time, the *rakryān (m)apatiḥ* of Vka (viz.) *Pu* Catura

2. marked out the *tgal*-fields[13] at Ratavun to be made into *savaḥ*-fields of 2 *tampaḥ*-s. (By) his assistant(s) were marked out the *tgal*-fields with *hala'ang*-grass at Kvak to be made into *savaḥ*-fields of 2 *tampaḥ*-s Moreover, (by) his assistant(s) were marked

3. out the gardens of the cloister at Mulak to be made into *savaḥ*-fields of 2 *tampaḥ*-s. (For) the free-hold of the temple at Landa : 5 *tampaḥ*-s. (For) the free-hold of the *dharmma* (and) resting place at Pastika : 2 *tampaḥ*-s. The person sent[14] (by) *sang makudur* to mark out the

4. free-holds : *Pu* Raja of Kurambyan. He received in ample measure gold 5 *māṣa* (and) coloured cloth 1 set. (For) *pinaka valang halu*[15] (?) : 2 sets of clothes. *Sang hyang* Brahmā[16]

5. (received) 1 set of clothes, unbolstered rice 1 *kadut*, (and) *vsi ika* 1. *Sang makalambi haji* (viz.) *Pu* Manghaling, the *madmak* of the village (received) gold 5 *māṣa* (and) coloured cloth 1 set. The *patiḥ* of the village of Kalyan

6. (viz.) *Pu* Sardiha (and) his *parujar* (viz.) *Si* Vurulu (received) coloured cloth 1 set (each in particular). The *vahuta* of Amvul (viz.) *Si* Vanda (received) gold 5 *māṣa*, coloured cloth 1 set (and) cotton-dress 1 piece ; his *pitungtung* (viz.) *Si*[17] Angga (received) gold 1 *māṣa* (and) coloured cloth 1 set.

7. Moreover, the *vahuta* of Amvul (viz.) *Pu* Canglu asintuk[18] (received) gold 1 *māṣa*, coloured cloth 1 set (and) cotton-dress 1 piece. The *tuha kalang* (viz.) *Si* Pahing, father of Andalan, (received) gold 2 *māṣa*, coloured cloth

8. 1 set (and) cotton-dress 1 piece. The two *tuha vanua*-s (viz.) *Si* Mangi, who is the grand-father of Landa, *Si* Kala'a who is the grand father of Girang ; the three *gusti*-s (viz.) *Si* Sangka (who is) the grandfather of Vada humba, *Si* Paranji (who is) the father of Giri, *Si* Ngeh (who is) the father of Km'r,

9 the *Variga* (viz.) *Si* Paraga (who is) the father of Vanda ; the two *huler*-s[19] (viz.) Si Kanda (who is) the father of vurutga, *Si* Ananta (who is) the father of Sala, the *parujar* (viz.) *Si* Tanu (who is) the father of Ratni. (All of them received) gold 1 *masa* (and) cloth·····

FOOTNOTES

1. *Notulen*, 1893, pp. 90 ff., 101 ; a photo is numbered OD 10°23
2. Dr. Brandes remarked (*Ibid.*, p. 90) that, as that inscription also handles over *desa* Kvak, it appears in all probability to belong to the collection of plates found at Ngabĕan in Kĕdu. See *Notulen* 1892, p. 23.
3. See also *BEFEO* 47 (1955) pp. 37-8.
4. *BEFEO* 46(1952) p.40 with f.n. 4.
5. Elsewhere we have : vulang hulu.
6. Read : 'jarnya.
7. It should probably be read as : Pitungtungnya. cf. 49. a 9 ; 41. b3; 40. a 15 38. b3.
8. Damais in *BFFEO* 46 (1952 p. 41 fn. 4 seems to read the name as Kalula Kak Narang.
9. Damais, *op. cit.* read the name as Taṇḍa.
10. Damais : Vurutū.
11. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
12. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
13. Un-irrigated field. In the *Rājatigunḍala*, a work attributed to Phatati, a "*ratu* of yore," but which also mentions king Kṛtanagara (1268-92 A.D.), we find reference to various other kinds of lands, such as *tani* (consumers' cultivated areas), *jumput* (espicially reserved land ?), *kuluvut* (enfolded, enclosed, land ?), *tani analaga talun* (cultivated areas encircling newly opened land ?), *carik* (lands under a curse), *lĕmah aheng* (flat land haunted by spirits ?), *natar* (farmyard ?), *pangulu-vung* (empty lands ?). Vide Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th century*, vol. I, pp. 88-89 and vol. III p. 133.
14. As remarked previously, *kinon manusukakna* appears to be the same as *lumaku manusuk* of other inscriptions.
15. Elsewhere *pinaka vulang hulu* (*cf.* *OJO* XII : B.7). See notes thereon.
16. Probably the God of Fire has been intended hereby.
17. The writer has employed Skt. *Sandhi*-rule here.
18. Or, '.....*vahuta*-s.....Canglua (and) *Si* Ntuk.....
19. This is = Hulu air.

LI

THE PILLAR OF PASTIKA (TRUJUK), 803 ŚAKA

This pillar was discovered by Rouffaer from the mountain-ranges of Gunung Gondang, in the south of *desa* Trujuk of the Klaten division in the residency of Surakarta.[1] It is now preserved in the Batavia Museum where it is numbered D. 64.[2] An impression of the record is mentioned in *Notulen*, 1888, p. 74, and this forms Oudh. Bur. no. 369.[3] According to Damais,[3a] the date corresponds to 31st July, 881 A.D.

Dr. Brandes[4] has furnished a reading of this record accompanied by a translation. The inscription which runs round the pillar contains the following text.

TEXT

ll O ll svasti śakavarṣatīta[5] 803 bhadrāvādamāsa[6] dvitiya[7] śukla-pakṣa, ma, u, so, vāra, tatkāla ni sīma bhaṭāra[7a] ī pastika O ll

TRANSLATION

ll O ll Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 803, the month of Bhādra, second day of the bright half of the month, *mavu*[8], *umanis*[9], Monday. That is the time (of the foundation) of the free-hold for the *bhaṭāra* at Pastika.[10] ll

FOOTNOTES

1. *Notulen*, 1888, pp. 74 75 ; Verbeek, *Oudheden*, p. 192. Brandes states that the natives described this stone-pillar as *watu ḍaṇḍang* or *tugu*.
2. Verbeek, *op cit.* ; *Rapp.*, 1911, p. 59.
3. *OJO*, p. 261.
3.a *BEFEO*, 46(1952) p.41.
4. *Notulen*, *op. cit* ; see also *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 38
5. Skt : °rṣā.
6. Skt : bhādrapada.°
7. Skt : °tīyā.
7.a Damais says (*BEFEO*, 47, 1955. p. 38 f.n.1) that, palaeographically, it is difficult to read °ṭā or possibly °*ttā*.
8. A Mal-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
9. A Mal-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
10. Apparently a funerary temple. In this connexion, see Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p. 181

LII

THE COPPER-PLATE OF RAMVI (NGABEAN VI) 804 ŚAKA.

This plate was obtained from the Magĕlang division of the residency of Kĕdu [1] in 1870, and was later on purchased by the Batavia Society along with some other records. It is numbered E 10 at the Batavia Museum. The inscription is incised on both the faces of a single plate measuring 36 x 31 c. m.

It records the orders of the illustrious great king, the *raka* of Kayuvangi named Sajjanotsavatungga, in respect of the *dharmma* at Pastika, wherefore a free-hold was established by the *rakarayān halu*, viz., Pu Catura, in 804 śaka. On this occasion, the lands at Ramvi were also marked out for the *dharmma* at Ramvi. Pu Catura became the authority over both these *dharmma*-s. Here we get the abhiṣeka-name of the raka of Kayuvangi as Sajjanotsavatungga.

The facsimile and transcription of this record have been published in *KO* where they bear no. XV.[1a] According to Damais, *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 43, the date corresponds to 29th March, 882 A.D.

TEXT

A.1. svasti śakavarṣātīta 804 caitramāsa tithi ṣaṣṭi[2] śuklapakṣa, tunglay, pahing, vṛhaspati, nakṣatra puśya,[3] yoganya vaidhṛti, uttarasthāna,

2. taṭkāla ājña[4] śrī mahārāja rake kayuvangi śrī sajjanotsavatungga tumurun. i rakarayān. mapatiḥ, hino, vka, sirikan ; tiruan ; halaran ; panggil.

3. hyang, vlahan ; manghūri, tañjung, langka, vadihati, makudur, kumonnakan. ikanang dharmma ing pastika dharmma rakarayān. halu pu catura, panusukna lmaḥ a

4. las. dadyakna savaḥ sīmānya, ikanang lmaḥ i ramvi vatak. halu sinusuk. kvaiḥnya lamvit 2 parnnahanya taḍahaji[5] pungullanira, pramāṇā sira iri

5. ya maněhěr. muang dharmma nira i ramvi samangkana soāra ning umunggu irikanang dharmma i ramvi samangkana sukhaduḥkhangnya, ta. katamāna deni saprakāra ning ma

6. nyihda. kring paḍamapuy, tuha dagang tapahaji, mangrumve, makalangkang, uṇḍahagi, paṇḍai mas, paṇḍai vsi, pinĭaiv,[6] katanggaran, va

7. lvan, mangidung, tuha paḍahi, tūttan,[7] ing tikasan, ityaivamādi, bhaṭāra i dharmma rake halu i ramvi ing pastika aparānanya; mangangsĕakan. ra

8. ke halu pasĕk. pa ĕk. savyavasthā ning manusuk. sīma[8] i rakarayān. mapatiḥ rake hino pu aku, samgat. bavang pu partha rake vka pūding, rake siri

9. kan. pu purungul ; tiruan pu manghurĭ,[9] kapua mavḍĕhan,[10] gañjar. pātra yu 1 alap. nya salari kuning yu 1 sim. sim. pasada voḥ 1 brat. su 11 (?)[11]

10. sovang sovang, rake halaran. pu dīpānekara, rake panggil. hyang pūttarāsangga, rake vlahan. pu jeṣṭa,[12] manghuri pu kiti, rake tañjung pu kalung varak,

11. rake langka pu guhĭ, vadihati pu manū, makudur. pu mannang, dalinan, pu acung, pangkur, pu gava, habāngan, pu rañjan, tirip, pu agrapiṇḍa ruavlas. ka

12. pua avḍihan. piliḥ angsit. **yu 1 sim. sim. pasada** voḥ 1 **brat. mā 8** sovang sovang, parujar. **i hino** 2 kaṇḍamuhi sang **caṭā, vatu varaṇi sang vi**

13. dyāngga, parujar. **i vka** 2 viridiḥ sang gabhasti. **halang manuk. sang** paladhara, parujar. i tiruan. 1 sumuḍan. sang śivayoga,[13] **tuhān. i vadihati 2 kulu**

14. mpitan. **si** larak ; miramiraḥ **si bunil. tuhān ni makudur** 2 palintahan. si śra, asampaīījang **si** dharmma, **sang kalamvi** haji **i** vadihati tumūī manusuk.

15. 1 sulang mayang **si** putra, **makudur. manghuyup. 1 piṇḍa 11** kapua vḍihan. piliḥ angsit. **yu 1 sim. sim.** pasada **voḥ 1 brat. mā** 4 sovang

R. 1. sovang parujar. i halaran. 1 **savi** manuk. **si** udāra, parujar. **i** panggil. hyang 1 tiru si singhānanda, parujar. **i** vlahan. **1 dalinan. si** vijaya, parujar. i

2. manghuri 1 rungga **si** bhaṭṭa, parujar. **i dalinan 1** mayaḥ **si** uliḥ, parujar **i** pangkur 1 jagal. **si bajra,** parujar. i habāngan[14] **1 luk.** si prajña, parujar. i

3. tirip 1 kasugihan. **si sirikan, piṇḍa 8 kapuā vḍihan.** ragi yu 1 sim. **sim. mas.** pasada **voḥ 1 brat. mā 2 sovang sovang. patiḥ** pāsā (?). si

4. padī 1 patiḥ vungkurungan. 1 si paskaran ; **patiḥ** kuning 1 si raja piṇḍa 3 kapua viraiḥ pasĕk. pasĕk. vḍihan. **piliḥ** angsit. yu 1 sim. sim.

5. mas. pasada voḥ 1 brat. mā 2 sovang sovang, vahuta vuatan. mas. si vungku 1 vahuta sukun. si kudang 1 muvaḥ vahuta vuatan. mas. si gu

6. pura 1 vahuta dharmmapura si manu 1 vahuta jahlyan. si kampil 1 vahuta kasugihan. si taṇī 1 vahuta paskaran. si vaśitā[15] 1 piṇḍa 7 kapua

7. vinaiḥ pasĕk. pasĕk. vḍihan, piliḥ angsit. yu 1 sim. sim. pasada voḥ 1 brat. mī 4 sovang sovang, tuhān ning kalang si turunnan. vineḥ pa

8. sĕk. pasĕk. vḍihan ragi yu 1 pirak. mī 4(?), vinkas. i vuatan. mas 1 vinkas. i sukun. 1 vinkas. i dharmmapura 1 vinkas. i jahlyan. 1

9. vinkas. i kasugihan. 1 vinkas. i paskaran. 1 kapua viraiḥ pasĕk. pasĕk. vḍihan. ragi yu 1 sim. sim. mās. pasada voḥ 1 brat.

10. mā 2 sovang sovang, kalang i prasāda si candra 1 vineḥ pasĕk. pasĕk. vḍihan. ragi yu 1 sim. sim. mas. pasada voḥ 1 brat. mā 2

11. muang pintakasiḥ nikanang rāma i ramvi i rakarayān. ramalau ya inaṇḍāḥ gavainya, gavainya tamvayan. ḍomas, gavainya ma

12. ngke sāmas, muang rovangnya inaṇḍāḥ tulung tutu prāṇa 3 **muang** vadahuma prāṇa 2 anung pinuput. tatagan. tanggung tingkas, mula. likhi

13. ta sang panavungan. citralekha i ti uan. sang śivāditya.[16]

TRANSLATION

A. 1. Hail ! The śaka year expired, 804, the month of Caitra, sixth day of the bright half of the month, *tungtay*,[17] *paḥing*.[18] Thursday, the lunar mansion Puṣyā, (during) the conjunction of Vaidhṛti in the northern region.

2. At that time, the orders of the illustrious great king, the *raka* of Kayuvangi, (named) Śrī Sajjan travatungga were communicated to the *rakarayān mapatiḥ-s* : *hino, vka, sirikan, tiruan, halaran, panggil*

3. *hyang, vlahan, manghuri,*[19] *tañjung,*[20] *langka,*[20] *vadihaṭi, makudur,* ordaining that *dharmma*[21] at Pastika shall be the *dharmma* of the *rakarayān halu* (viz.) *Pu* Catura who shall mark out lands of the forest

4. (and) shall transform them into *savaḥ*-fields for its free-hold. The lands at Ramvi under Halu were (also) marked out. The extent of them is *lamvit* 2. They stood in relation to *Taḍahaji* (of) Pungeul(la), (but) he[22]

5. shall henceforward lord over them as also over his *dharmma* at Ramvi, evenso (over) all things coming under the *dharmma* of Ramvi, so also (over) their good and bad incidents. (These) may not be interfered with by all sorts of 'collectors (of royal charges)':

6. the *kring, paḍamapuy, tuha dagang, tepahaji, mangrumve, makalangkang, uṇḍahagi, paṇḍai mas, paṇḍai vsi, piniaiy, katanggaran, valyan,*

7. *margidung, tuha paḍahi tūtan,* up to *tikasan,*[23] and so forth. The deities of the *dharmma*-s of the *raka* of Halu at Ramvi and Pastika have manorial rights over them. The *raka*

8. of Halu offered gifts in ample measure, according to the custom of marking out a free-hold, to the *rakarayān mapatiḥ*-s : the *raka* of Hino (viz.) *Pu* Aku, the *samgat* Pavang (viz.) Pu Partha, the *raka* of Vka (viz.) Pu Uding,[24] the *raka* of Sirikan (viz.)

9. *Pu* Purungul, the *tiruan* (viz.) *Pu* Manghuri. All (of them) received *gañjar pātra* cloth 1 set, the gift of yellow *salari*[25] 1 set (and) 1 *pasada voh*-ring weighing 1 *suvarṇa,*

10. each in particular. The *raka* of Halaran (viz.) *Pu* Dīpāngkara, the *raka* of Panggil hyang (viz.) *Pu* Uttarāsangga, the *raka* of Vlahan (viz.) *Pu* Teṣṭa, the *manghuri* (viz.) *Pu* Kiti, the *raka* of Tañjung (viz.) *Pu* Kalung Varak,

11. the *raka* of Langka (viz.) *Pu* Guhī, the *vadihati* (viz.) *Pu* Manū the *makudur* (viz.) *Pu* Mannang, the *dalinan* (viz.) *Pu* Acung, the *pangkur* (viz.) *Pu* Gava, the *habāngan*[26] (viz.) *Pu* Rañjan, the *tirip* (viz.) *Pu* Agrapiṇḍa, twelve (persons). All (of them)

12. received *piliḥ angsit*-cloth 1 set, 1 *pasada voh*-ring weighing 8 *māṣa,* each in particular. The two *parujar*-s[27] of Hino : *Kaṇḍamuhi* (viz.) *Sang* Caṭā (and) *Vatu Varaṇi* (viz.) *Sang* Vidyāngga ;

13. the two *parujar*-s of Vka : *viridiḥ*[28] (viz.) *Sang* Gabhasti (and) *halang manuk*[29] (viz.) *Sang* Paladhara ; one *parujar* of Tiruan : *sumuḍan*[28] (viz.) *Sang* Śivayoga ; two *tuhān*-s of Vadihati : *kulumpitan*

14. (viz.) *Si* Larak[30] (and) *miramirah*[28] (viz.) *Si* Bunil ; two *tuhān*-s of Mukudur : *palintahan*[28] (viz.) *Si* Śra[31] (and) *asampañjang*[32] (viz.) *Si* Dharmma ; one *kalamvi haji* of vadihati : *tumūt manusuk* ;[33]

15. one *sulang mayang*[34] (viz.) *Si* Putra, (under) *Makudur* of Manghuyup ; in all 11 (persons). All (of them received) *piliḥ angsit*-cloth 1 set (and) 1 *pasada* voh -ring weighing 4 *māṣa,* each in particular.

B. 1. One *parujar* of Halaran : *savi manuk*[34] (viz.) *Si* Udāra ; one *parujar* of Panggil hyang : *tiru*[34] (viz.) *Si* Singhānanda ; one *parujar* of Vlahan : *dalinan* (viz.) *Si* Vijaya ; one *parujar* of

2. Manghuri : *rungga*[34] (viz) *Si* Bhaṭṭa ; one *parujar* of Dalinan : *mayaḥ*[34] (viz.) *Si* Uliḥ ; one *parujar* of Pangkur : *jagul*[34] (viz.) *Si* Bajra ; one *parujar* of Habāngan : *luk*[34] (viz.) *Si* Prajña ; one *parujar* of

3. Tirip : *kasugihan*[34] (viz.) *Si* Sirikan ; in all 8 (persons). All (of them) received *ragi* cloth 1 set, 1 *parada voh*-ring weighing 2 *māṣa,* each in particular. One *patih* of Pāsā (?) (viz.) *Si*

4. Padī ; one *pi*^{tt}*ih* of V^{tt}ngkurungan (viz.) *Si* Paskaran ; o^{n}e *pi*^{tt}*ih* of Kuning (viz.) *Si* Raja ; in all, 3 (persons). All (of the^{m}) received in a^{n}mple measure *pilih angsit*-cloth 1 set (and) 1 *pasada voh*-ring.

5. weighing 2 *māṣa*, each in particular. 1 *vahuta* of Vuatan mas (viz.) *Si* Vungku ; 1 *vahuta* of Suk^{u}n (viz.) *Si* Kudang ; ^{tt}so 1 *vahuta* of Vuatan mas (viz.) *Si*

6. Gupura ; 1 *vahuta* of Dharmmapura (viz) *Si* Ma^{n1}..ı ; 1 *vahuta* of Jahlyan (viz) *Si* Kampī ; 1 *vahuta* of Kasugihan (viz.) *Si* Ta^{n}ī ; 1 *vahuta* of Paskaran[35] (viz.) *Si* Vaśitā ; in all, 7 (persons). All (of them)

7. received in ample measure 1 set of *pilih angsit*-cloth (and) 1 *pasada voh*-ring weighi^{n}g 4 *māṣa*, each in particular. The *tuhān* of Kalang (viz) *Si* Turunnan received

8. in ample measure *ragi*-cloth 1 set (and) silver 4 (?) *māṣa*. 1 *vinkas* of Vuatan mas, 1 *vinkas* of Sukun, 1 *vinkas* of Dharmmapura, 1 *vinkas* of Jahlyan,

9. 1 *vinkas* of Kasugihan, 1 *vinkas* of Paskaran : all (of them) received in ample m^{n}easure 1 set of *ragi*-cloth (and) 1 *pasada voh* gold-ring weighing

10. 2 *māṣa* : each in particular. 1 *kalang* of Prasāda (viz.) *Si* Candra received in ample measure *ragi* cloth 1 set (and) 1 *pasada voh* gold-ring weighing 2 *māsa*.

11. Moreover, the friendly request[36] of the *rāma*-s of Ramvi to the *rakarayān* : requesting that their remuneration has been reduced. Their remuneration was originally two[37] (pieces of) gold ; now their remuneration is

12. one (piece of) gold (per head ?). Moreover, their assistants have been reduced. The (gift of) 3 *tulung tutu* beasts and 2

vadahuma-beasts has (also) been stopped. (So) reported Tanggung T^{m}gkas (and) Mula. (This is) wriitten by

13. *Sang* Panavungan (and) the designer to the *tiruan* (viz.) *Sang* Śivāditya.[38]

FOOTNOTES

1. *KO*, pp. X-XI ; Verbeek, *Oudheden*, p. 150.
1.a Some portion of the beginning has also been transcribed by Damais in *BEFEO* 47, (1955) p. 38.
2. Skt. ṣaṣṭhī.
3. Skt : puṣyā.
4. Skt : °jñā.
5. tapa° ? (C. Stuart.)
6. Usually . pininglai *or* p^{n}glai.
7. Usually : tūtan. This indicates duplication of consonants.
8. Cohen Stuart's reading of ci° appears to be due to printing mistake.
9. °ri ? (C Stuart).
10. Read, °vḍih°.
11. C Stuart's reading of 1 appears to be wrong.
12. °ṣṭha ? (C. Stuart).
13. C. Stuart's ci° is evidently a printing mistake.
14. °ña° ? (C. Stuart.)
15. C. Stuart's °cit° is evidently a printing mistake.
16. C. Stuart's reading of civā° appears to be due to a printing mistake.
17. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
18. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
19. The occurrence of this term in the midst of ecclesiastical titles is noteworthy.
20. Their functions are not known, but they may be ecclesiastical officers.
21. The term appears to refer to a funerary temple. From contemporary inscriptions, Pastika appears to have formed something like a city of temples and mausoleums.
22. *Pu* Catura.

23. The significance of the term is not quite clear.
24. Skt. Sandhi-rule has been observed here.
25. Apparently a kind of valuable dress.
26. The significance of the title is not quite clear.
27. Kaṇḍamuhi, Vatu varaṇi, viridiḥ and sumuḍan are, in my opinion, titles and not place-names. If we consider them to be place-names, we have to postulate that for several centuries, throughout the changes of political fortunes, revolutions of dynasties, messengers of particular persons were recruited from the same place. This appears improbable to me. Of course, one can never be certain in such matters.
28. Though their functions may perhaps be guessed, the significance of the terms is far from being clear. A *parujar* of *palarhyang* hails from Sumuḍa.
29. Kaṇḍamuhi, Vatu varaṇi, Dharmasinta, Halang manuk are associated with or play the role of scribes. In 64. I. 16, kaṇḍamuhi is a *parujar* but he is associated there with the *citralekha watuvaraṇi*. In 64. II. 2 the dharmasinta is a *citralekha*; in 64. III b 8, vatu varaṇi, dharmasinta and halang manuk are specifically mentioned as *citralekha* or scribe. The last two appear in the same role as early as 782 Śaka in 21. 10.
30. In KO XIV : A. 5 (803 Śaka), he holds the title of *mangrakappi halaran*.
31. In KO XIV from 803 Śaka, he is also the *tuhan* of makudur with the designation of *Vangun Sugih*. Can we therefore say that *pulintahan* = vangun sugih ?
32. The significance of the term is not quite clear.
33. This perhaps corresponds to *lumaku manusuk* of other inscriptions.
34. It is not clear if we are to take them as place-names or titles. In this list, *dalinan* is a well-known official title; it also occurs as a geographical name. Kasugihan is also known as a geographical name (cf. Nos. 26. 4, 27. 3, 40 b. 1 etc). It is not impossible that these official titles have been is some way or other connected with geographical names. If these are geographical names, the translation will necessitate the insertion of '*from*' before each of these names.
35. Either it is a geographical name like Vuatan Mas etc, or it stands for the personal names referred to in l. 4 above.
36. *Pinta kasih* may also be a class of people who served as the spokesmen of the *rāma-s*. The lit. meaning of the phrase has been given above.
37. *Domas* may also mean 800, but here we have probably *Do* (*Dva*, = two, *i.e.*, two) + *mas* as against sa+*mas* = one *mas*, which is also stated in the same breath.

38. The name is interesting in so far as it suggests the uni-dual entity of Śiva and Āditya. For such references see Goris, *Theologie*, p. 11; Sarkar, *Indian Influences*, p. 61.

LIII

THE PILLAR OF MUNGGU ANTAN (TUMBU), 808 ŚAKA

This stone was obtained from Tumbu[1] in the Bālak district of the residency of Kēdu. It was later on brought to Magĕ'ang and was despatched therefrom to the Batavia Museum where it is numbered D. 93. An impression of this inscription forms No. 356 at the *Oudh. Bur.*[2]

It records that the *pamgat* of Munggu and his younger sister named *sang hadyan* Palutungan, the widow of the king cremated at Pastika, marked out the village of Munggu antan as a free-hold for the *vihāra* of Gusali in the śaka year 808. The inscription also refers to a king, viz., the *raka* of Gurunvangi.

The transcription of this record has been published in *OJO* where it bears no. XVIII.[3] According to Damais, the date of the record corresponds to 9th Feb., 887 A.D.

TEXT

1. svasti śakavarṣatita[4] 808 phalguṇamāsa[5] trayodaśi[6] śuklapakṣa vūrukung kalivuan
2. bṛhaspati vāra puṣyā nakṣatra śobhaṇa[7] yoga tatkāla sang pamgat munggu muang ari nira sang
3. hadyan palutungan binihaji sang devata ing pastika, rumusuk ikeng vanua i munggu antan

4. śīmā punpunnana[8] nikanang vihāra i gu ali taḍah[9] haji punggul sangkāri śrī mahārāja rake guru
5. n vangi tatra śākṣī[10] sang patih singgang pu manghalangi patih valahingan pu sḍana, luvang pu amvarī, ma(ng)ḍangkpi[11] pu senā
6. vahuta tumapal ou pibang vinkas juru pu tirī, guṣti i munggu antan pu kinḍang, kalang pu śiṣṭi huler
7. pu ugrā vinkas pu vepo tuha vĕrĕh pu ugrī ||

TRANSLATION

1. Hail! The Śaka year expired 808, the month of Phālguna, thirteenth day of the bright half of the month, *vurukung*,[12] *kalivon*.[13]
2. Thursday, the lunar mansion Puṣyā, the conjunction of Śobhana. At that time, *sang pamgat* of Munggu and his younger sister (viz.) *sang*
3. *hadyan* Palutungan, the queen (of) the holy *devatā*[14] of Pastika, marked out the village at Munggu antan.
4. (This) free-hold shall be in subservience to the *vihāra* of Gusali[15] (and) Taḍah haji (of ?) Punggul. (the favour) originating from the illustrious great king, the *raka* of
5. Gurunvangi.[16] Witnesses thereof are: *sang patih* of Singgang (viz.) *pu* Manghalangi, the *patih* of *valahingan* (viz.) *pu* Sḍang, (the *patih* of) Luvang[17] (viz.) *pu* Amvarī, the *ma(ng)rangkpi* (viz.) *Pu* Senā,
6. the *vahuta* of Tumapal (viz.) *pu* Pibang, the *vinkas* of the *juru* (viz.)

pu Tirī, the *gusti* of Munggu antan (viz.) *pu* Kiṇḍong, the *kalang* (viz.) *pu* Śrīṣṭi, the *hu'er* (viz.)

7. *pu* Ugrā, the *vinkas* (viz.) *pu* Vepo (and) the *tuha vĕrĕh* (viz.) *pu* Ugrī. ‖

FOOTNOTES

1. It was previously described (e.g. in *OJO*, p. 21) as obtained from *desa* Bulus. That is not correct. cf. *TBG*, 65, p. 212; Krom. *Geschiedenis*, p 181.
2. *OJO* p. 21.
3. The initial portion of this record has also been transcribed in *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 39.
4. Skt.: °ṣāṭī°
5. Skt: phālguna.°
6. Skt: °daśī.
7. Skt: °na.
8. Here also the consonant has been doubled.
9. Brandes read: tapah. The above correction is suggested by several inscriptions. *cf.* Stutterheim in *TBG*, 75, p. 443. See however *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 39 fn. 1
10. Skt: sā.°
11. This is usually written as: °rang.°
12. A Mal.- Polynesian day of the six-day week.
13. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
14. Here *devatā*= apotheosised king. Dr. Stutterheim (*TBG*, 65, p. 212) considered the queen herself to be the *devatā*. In *TBG*, 75, p. 423, Stutterheim says with reference to *KO* XVIII that a cremated king can grant favours so long as there is no successor.
15. It is difficult to say what this word stands for. Is it a title, personal name or place-name? If it is a title meaning 'smith', we may recall that the smiths were sometimes connected with religious institutions. *cf OJO* XXXI. The two remaining explanations are also equally applicable in the present instance.
16. He is otherwise unknown and the royal list of 820 Śaka does not mention him. cf *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 39 fn. 2.
17. Luvang reminds one of Luvang antan (*OJO* VII, v.° 12), even as Munggu is of Munggu antan.

LIV

INSCRIPTION OF THE JAKARTA MUSEUM (D. 63), 80. ŚAKA

This inscription has been published in *OJO* XXXIII p. 51 and is to be distinguished from Jedung II or Kambang Śrī Inscription. It is to be dated between 800 and 809 śaka. It begins with a salutation to Śiva. The use of the word *sima* in l.3, the gift of clothes and presence of witnesses indicate that the record marks the foundation of a freehold. Unfortunately the name of the freehold is lost.

TEXT

Oṃ

1. ‖ oṃ[1] namaśśivāya ‖ svasti śakavarṣātita[2] 80. kartikamāsa[3] tithi dvādaśi[4] kṛ ṣṇa)pa |

2. kṣa vu po vāra tatkāla pu *bha rama* ni śra
gu sa anakbi muang kaka nira pu *ḍati* kaki ni a
mvattan rĕk

3. sama sīma gatra i can śrī
tatra sakṣi[5] samgat *vadihati* *rikang*
kāla sang a( )yu( )anak vanva i tu

4. mangambil[6] saji sira pirak lima
tahil vḍiḥhan[7] rangga yu 1 kvo 1 mas peda 1
ta( )pu ḍamās va

TRANSLATION

1. Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 812, the month of Kārtika, fifth day of the bright half of the month, *tolu*,[8] *pon*,[9] Monday. (The Moon) was in the mansion of Budha (?).[10] At that time,

2. the *ramanta*-s of Poḥ dulur presented the tribute of their village to the illustrious great king, the *raka* of Limus (viz.) *dyaḥ* Devīndra.

FOOTNOTES

1. For details, see *Rapp.*, 1911, pp. 6-9.
2. *Cf.* Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p. 182.
3. *Rapp., op. cit.*, p. 7.
4. *Not. Bat. Gen.*, 49 (1911) p. 59.

4a. *BEFEO* 47 (1962) p. 42.

5. Read : *tolu*.
6. The duplication of the consonant is noteworthy.
7. In V°. 9, his name has been spelt as Devendra.
8. The name of the fifth *vuku*.
9. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
10. The relevant phrase has been put in a strange way.

LVI

THE STONE OF BELINGAVAN (SINGASARI), 813 ŚAKA

This stone was obtained from Singasari in Malang and was brought to Batavia by Mr. J. Th. Bik. It was previously described as the stone of Gang Batu tulis, as it stood there for a long time. Later on the Batavia Museum secured this stone as D. 54 through the efforts of Dr. Brandes.[1] Impressions of this inscription form Nos. 377 and 529 at the *Oudh. Bur.*[2] The stone contains the beginning of an inscription whereof the concluding portions are incised on the back of a Gaṇeśa-image described in the following number.

The inscription records the marking out of the fields of Gurubhakti, which belonged to the village of Balingavan, into a free-hold, on the representation of the *rāma*-s of the latter village. As passers-by were frequently attacked in the fields of Gurubhakti, the villagers of Balingavan being in charge of these fields had to pay the penalty for these mishaps. The representation of the *rāma*-s of Balingavan was successful, and the *rakryān* Kanuruhan marked out these fields into a free-hold in 813 Śaka. The inscription is thus important from social and administrative point of view.

The transcription of this record has been published in *OJO* XIX ; a portion of the facsimile has also been published in the same (Pl. 6). According to Damais,[3] the date of this inscription corresponds to 13th April, 891 A.D.

TEXT

RECTO

1. avighnam astu svasti śakavarṣātīta
2. 813 baiśākhamāsa[4] tithi pratipādaśukla[5]

3. vu va ang vāra pūrbvasthāna[6] tatkāla ḍapunta ramyah muang ḍa
4. pu hyang bhāratī ḍaman tarṣa ḍapu jala manīma lmaḥ ri bali
5. ngavan tgal ring gurubhakti sambandhanya sinīma sangkāri pi
6. ntakāsiḥ nikanang rāma ri balivan[7] sap ( ) suk vanua i sang mapa
7. tiḥ katrīṇi sangkā yan hlat katakut ( ) ikanang tgal
8. muang mamuhara duḥkha ya iriya yāt ( ) matangyan pama
9. laku ḍinatangıkan sambaḥnya i rakryan kanuruhā
10. n pu huntu ikanang rāma ri balingavan ḍa sang mapatiḥ
11. katrīṇi ḍumatangakan sambaḥnya i rakryan mahulu
12. n an sīmān ikanang tgal ring gurubhakti tan vinihang
13. pintakasiḥ nikanang rāma de rakryān ya ta m tangnya n
14. sinīma ikanang tgal de ḍap ınta ramyah muang ḍapu hyang

SECOND PART

A. 1. bharatī[8] ḍamantarṣa ḍa
2. *sang* jala sıngkā ri anu
3. graha rakryān i sang
4. m ıpatiḥ katrīṇi sang
5. mapatiḥ umanug ıhā
6. kanya simān anung *ta*
7. ya byāya ning manīma
8. mās tumama i ra
9. kryān su 4 vḍihan
10. *biṇi* yu l i rakryā
11. n anakbi *ra*kai vaıanga
12. n nayaka ri limus su
13. 2 kain blaḥ[9] l i pu ku
14. til nayaka ri tlaıla su i[10]
15. kain blaḥ[11] i pajuru mas

B. 1. man bungguluh pabhu
2. kāvangyan mando
3. n muang maniṇḍil
4. anung rāma i balingava
5. n vinkas sang mahama

6. ntaga ni juru vanua ḍa
7. mandyus hulu vua
8. ttan sang draśa[12] ḍapu bu
9. rkulū tuha buru ḍama
10. n sahaja rāma kaba
11. yān ḍaman lama ḍapu
12. panginangiṇ ḍaman gānanta
13. u ṇḍahagi sang salara
14. *b* variga man saṇḍu
15. k tuhalas ḍaman suddha

VERSO

1. su 2 vḍihan yu 4 anung mapa
2. *rṇnāḥ* ri sang mapatiḥ muang sireng pakaraṇān ka
3. mās su 2 i sang vahuta katrīṇi mā 14 nā
4. han byāya sang manīma i pingsor ni anugraha rakryā
5. n ri sang m ıpatiḥ katrīṇi juru kanayakān rikang kāla sang pa
6. rhyangan sang rangga mangrangkpi sang balubaluḥ sang rapoḥ mataṇḍa sang
7. *k*alanggaran[13] parujar sang talagatalaga juru lāmpuran sang ra
8. tinggin pu gapaka mangrangkpi sang ratahun ḍangatuahi
9. juru badvā[14] raśa[15] sang halalang mangrangkpi talabung nayaka ri ca(ng)ra
10. ma manunggū sang subhāsita juru ming varakat sang bharata manmak[16]
11. ri haryyāng mangaśakan sang *tāmba* madval ri *m*angin si i
12. citralekha sang lakṣaṇa madmak ri pa valuta padva
13. n sang buntil vungkal raya sang vala pakambangan rang ba
14. ngalaḥ patiḥ samgat sang butuhan manghā*m*bin sang ba
15. kabangyan[17] sang uvag juru banua sang n ma
16. ngrangkpi sang rantan gusti sang *tu* k pangurang sang *panaśan* (pang juru)

17. an sang gali juru kalang sang kumāra asta *latta* saru
18. patiḥ manmatuan muang sang mahāmbēn

ABOVE

1. muang[18] ḍapu *kēki* nāhan kveḥ *inangsēeakan* pasatyasatmatīta
2. pinakasākṣī an sinīma ikanang tgal i gurubhakti lmaḥ ri balingavan
3. de ḍapunta ramyaḥ muang ḍapu hyang *bhārati* ḍaman tarṣa ḍapu jala kunang a
4. nugraha rakryan[19] muang sang juru makabathan umingsor i sang mapa

TRANSLATION

RECTO

1. Let there be no obstacles ! Hail ! The Śaka year expired,
2. 813, the month of Vaiśākha, first day of the bright half of the month.
3. *vurukung*.[20] *vage*,[21] Tuesday, (the planet) in the eastern region. At that time, *ḍapunta*[22] (named) Ramyah and
4. *ḍapu hyang* (named) Bhāratī of Ḍaman tarṣa[23] (and) *ḍapu* (named) Jala marked out into a free-hold the lands of

5. Balingavan (lying in) the *tgal*-fields of Gurubhakti. The occasion of their being marked out into a free-hold was due to the
6. representation of the *rāma*-s of Bali(nga)van, of the whole extent of the village[24], to the
7. united body of the three *sang mapatiḥ*-s, because of the occurences of danger in the *tgal*-fields
8. and the troubles they created for them. In consequence of these (facts), their homage (and) requests
9. were presented to the *rakryan* Kanuruhan
10. (viz.) *Pu* Huntu. The *rāma*-s of Balingavan ... ... the united body of the three *sang mapatiḥ*-s
11. (thereupon) went to present their homage to the *rakryan mahu'un*[25]
12. about marking out into a free-hold the *tgal*-fields of Gurubhakti.
13. (Now) the requests of the *rāma*-s (of Balingavan) were not opposed by the *rakryān* (*mahulun*). That is the reason
14. why the *tgal*-fields (of Gurubhakti) were marked out into a free-hold by the *ḍapunta* Ramyah and *ḍapu hyang*

SECOND PART

A. 1. Bharatī of Ḍaman tarṣa (and) *ḍapu*
2. *sang* Jala through the
3. favour of the *rakryān* (*mahulun*) to the
4. united body of the three *sang mapatiḥ*-s. (Thus) *sang*
5. *mapatiḥ*-s favoured them
6. in respect of marking out the free-hold. They had now (to bear)
7. the expenses of marking out (the fields) into a free-hold :
8. the gold (that) came to the
9. *rakryān* (was) *suvarṇa* 4. Ladies' cloth
10. 1 set (came) to the wife of the *rakryān*.
11. The *raka* of Vatangan (and)
12. *nayaka* of Limus (received) *suvarṇa*
13. 2 (and) cotton-dress 1 piece. To *Pu* Kutil,

14. the *nayaka* of Tlatla (came) *suvarṇa* 1 (?) (and)
15. cotton-dress (1 ?) piece. To the (pa)*juru*-s of

B. 1. Masman,[26] Bungguluh, Pabhu,
2. Kāvangyan, Mandon
3. and Maniṇḍil (and)
4. the *rāma*-s of Balingavan,
5. the *vinkas* (viz.) *sang*[27] Mahamantagani,
6. the *juru* of the village of Daman[28]
7. (viz.) Dyus, the *hulu vuattan*(s)
8. (viz.) *sang* Draśa (and) *ḍapu* Burkulū,[29]
9. the *tuha buru* of Daman
10. (viz.) *sa(ng)* Haja, the *rāma kabayān*
11. of Daman (viz.) Lama, *ḍapu*
12. *panginangin* of Daman (viz.) Gānanta,
13. .....the *uṇḍahagi* (viz.) *sang* Salarab,
14. the *vaniga* (viz.) Man-saṇḍuk (and to) the *tuhalas* of Daman (viz.) Suddha

VERSO

1. (came) *suvarṇa* 2 (and) cloth 4 sets. Those standing in relation with

2. *sang mapatiḥ*-s and those with judicial courts (?)[30]

3. .....(received) gold 2 *suvarṇa*. To the united body of the three *sang vahuta*-s (came) (gold) 14 *māṣa*.

4. Now these are the expenses of marking out the free-hold in accordance with the favour of the *rakryān mahulun*

5. to the united body of the three *sang mapatiḥ* s. The *juru*-s of the united body of the *nayaka*-s of this time : *sang parhyangan*[31] (viz.)

6. *sang* Rangga, the *mangrangkpi*-s (viz.) *sang* Balubaluḥ (and) *san* Rapoḥ, the *mataṇḍa* (viz.) *sang*

7. Kalanggaran, the *parujar* (viz.) *sang* Talagatalaga ; the *juru*-s of Lāmpuran (viz.) *sang* Ratinggin

8. (and) *Pu* Gapaka, the *mangrangkpi*-s (viz.) *sang* Ratahun (and *ḍang* Atuahi ;

9. the *juru badvā* of Raśa[32] (viz.) *sang* Halalang, the *mangrangkpi* of Talabung ; the *nayaka* of Ca(ng)rama ;

10. the *manunggū*[33] (viz.) *sang* Subhāsita ; the *juru* of Ming ; the *varakat*[33] (viz.) *sang* Bharata ; the *madmak*

11. of Haryyāng ; the *mangasēakan* (viz.) *Sang* Tamba, the *madva*[34] of Mangin (viz.) *Si*..... .....

12. the *citralekha* (viz.) *sang* Lakṣaṇa, the *madmak* of..... the *vahuta* of Padvan

13. (viz.) *sang* Buntil, (the *vahuta* of) Vungkal raya (viz.) *sang* Vala (the *vahuta* of) Pakambangan (viz.) *sang* Bangalaḥ,

14. the *patiḥ* (viz. ?) *samgat sang*[35] Butuhan, the *manghāmbēn*-s[36] (viz.) *Sang* Bakabangyan

15. (and) *sang* Uvag, the *juru* of the village.....

16. the *mangrangkpi* (viz.) *sang* rantan, the *gusti* (viz.) *sang*.....the *pangurang*(s) (viz.) *sang*.....*sang*

17. Gali, the *juru Kalang* (viz) *sang* Kumāra...the

18. *patiḥ* of Manmatuan and *Sang*

ABOVE

1. and ḍapu Kēki. Now all (these)····· · received·····
2. and became witnesses in respect of the *tgal*-fields of Gurubhakti (which were) the grounds of Balingavan (and which) were marked out into a free-hold
3. by the ḍapunta Ramyaḥ and *ḍapu hyang* Bhārati of Daman tarṣa (and) ḍapu Jala. Moreover the
4. favour of the *rakryan* and all *sang juru*-s was communicated to the united body of the three *sang mapatiḥ*-s

FOOTNOTES

1. For the history of this stone and earlier literature, See *Notulen* 1887, pp. 104-108; Verbeek, *Oudheden*, pp. 298-300,
2. *OJO*, p. 22
3. *BEFEO* 45 (1951) p. 8 f.n. 1.
4. Skt : Vai°.
5. Skt : °pada°.
6. Skt. : pūrva°
7. baliban [K].
8. Karati [K].
9. Read : vlaḥ.
10. This is to be read as : 1.
11. Read : vlaḥ. Hereafter the number should have been stated.
12. draga [K].
13. tatla° [K].
14. Usually : vad°.
15. rare ?
16. mad° [K].
17. kava° [K].
18. The earlier transcription of Brandes had : muang ḍapu caraki nāhan kveḥ..... i sasa an satya satmatīta [K]

19. The earlier transcription had °yān. [K].
20. A Mal-Polynesian day of the six-day week.
21. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
22. The officials with honorifics like *ḍa(ng)*, *ḍapu* (=*ḍa*+*pu*), *ḍapunta* (=*ḍa*+*pu*+*nta*) appear to be a special feature here and there were many of them present.
23. The name of this village appears in an abbreviated form (ḍaman) in later portions of this and does not, therefore, signify a religious epithet, as De Casparis seems to think (*Pras. Ind.* 1 p. 240 f.n 175)
24. So the word *saṇasuk* is translated by Juynboll (*Lijst*, p. 353). Stutterheim (*TBG*, 75, p. 453) translates the term by 'residents', but the *sapinasuk* of *OJO* XXII · 3 makes the interpretation of Juynboll more acceptable.
25. From the foregoing particulars it appears that this person stood over the *rāma*-s and the *(ma)patiḥ*-s. Literally, it means : 'the king'. who is intended here.
26. It is difficult to say where one name ends and the other begins. The separation of names in the following cases should, therefore, be considered provisional.
27. Or : '.....the *vinkas* of Mahamantagani.....'
28. This appears to be an abbreviation of the full village-name, Damantarṣa. As stated elsewhere, such instances are not rare.
29. Or : '.....the *hulu vuattan* of Draśa (viz.) *ḍapu*.....'
30. In *TBG*, 75 p. 449, Dr. Stutterheim has considered that the term denotes not a place-name but the 'judicial court'. This word also occurs in *OJO* XXX, V°. 3-6; XXXI, V°. 3 and in the inscription published in *TBG*, 75, pp. 444-456.
31. It is not possible in the following cases to disentangle place-names from official titles and personal names. Interpretations may therefore vary according to our conceptions of these terms.
32. Can this be a mistake for : *juru vadvā rare ?*
33. They appear to be official titles whose significance is not known.
34. The dealer of merchandise ?
35. In this connexion see *BKI*, 90 (1933) pp 257-258 with f.n.s. ; *TBG*, 75, p. 449 f.n. 3. I wonder if Van Naerssen would consider the combination of *Samgat*+*Sang* as corrupt, as he seems to be inclined to in *BKI* 90, p. 257.
36. Apparently an official title whose significance is not known to me. It appears also in 84.10 below.

LVII

INSCRIPTION OF BALINGAVAN (SINGASARI) ON GAṆEŚA IMAGE 813, ŚAKA

This Gaṇeśa-image was found by Mr. Melville in the Chinese quarters of Malang. It was secured therefrom by Dr. Brandes for the Batavia Museum where it was first numbered A. 156c among the collection of stone-images. Later on it was included in the list of incised stones under D. 109.[1] As all available indications go to show that the inscription on the back of this image is a continuation of the record described in the preceding number, it is very likely that this image was also obtained from Singasari. It is thus the earliest dated image of East-Java.[2] The impressions of this inscription number 460 and 551.[3]

A transcription of this record has been published in *OJO* where it bears no. XX.

TEXT

1. tih katrīni ri paruna
2. han ikanang sīma tan katamāna deni sapra
3. kāra ning miśra, pangurang kring, tapa haji, makalangkang, mangrumbe, paḍa
4. mapui,[4] manimpiki, halu varak, limus galuh pangaruhan vungka
5. l tajam[5] ityevamādi sakvaih sang mangilala kabaih tan tamā rika
6. nang sīma kamulān, nāhan anugraha rakryan ri denyān
7. katakutan ikanang tgal lāgi panghavattani mangĕlĕ ya
8. ta mangde durbbala rikanang anak banua ri balingavān āpa
9. n lanā ya manahur dening rāh kasavur vangke kabunan ya

10. ta sambandhanyan inanugrahākan sīmān de rakryan, ma
11. kaphalā karakṣāna nikanang havān gĕrg ja[6] dānyannāryya[7]
12. katakutan, ya ta matangyān sīma kamulān ngara
13. nya mangaśakan kambang i sang mapatih angkan ju'ung matĕ
14. hĕr pinakavuat *phajinya*,[8] likhitapātra panuratan
15. sang vugal kunang asing lumbur ikanang sīma an huvus
16. inanugrahān hayu de rakryān muang sang juru makabai
17. han mo sakavuangnganya[9] niyata ya mamangguha duhka[10] mangĕng ta
18. rvarahan bhaṭāra sūkṣma ni[11] pamigrahā nīra iriya

TRANSLATION

1. with (this) aim
2. that the free-hold may not be trod upon by
3. all sorts of *miśra-s, pangurang-s, kring-s, tapa haji-s, makalangkang-s, mangrumbe-s, paḍamapuy-s,*
4. *manimpiki-s, halu varak-s, limus galuh-s, pangaruhan-s, vungkal*
5. *tajĕm-s*[12] and so forth. The whole multitude of the 'collectors (of taxes)' may not tread upon this
6. free-hold of Kamulān. Now (the bestowal of) the favour of the *rakryan* is for reason of the fact that
7. the *tgal*-fields (of Gurubhakti) were usually feared for having zones of intimidation that
8. created the uneasiness of the weaker section of the residents of Balingavān.
9. because, they had always to pay for the blood spilt (and) the corpse bedewed. That is the
10. reason why they were favoured by the *rakryan* in respect of the free-hold, this
11. leading to the protection of the great way[13] that was (so long) a spot to be dreaded by (all) honourable people (*āryya*).

12. That is the reason why the free-hold, known as Kamulān,
13. shall present flowers (i.e., homage) to *sang mapatiḥ*-s on each *julung*.[14] Accordingly,
14. their·····was presented. The scribe who has written the charter
15. is *sang* Vugal. What now concerns is : whoever destroys the free-hold that has been completely
16. favoured by the graciousness of the *rakryan* and all the *sang juru*-s,
17. may he repeatedly suffer great sorrows with all his descendants ; may he be
18. twice punished (or, covered with blood) by invisible gods for his opposition to this free-hold !

FOOTNOTES

1. *Rapp*, 1911. pp. 60-61 ; *OJO*. p 24.
2. *cf* Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p. 184
3. *Rapp., op. cit.* ; *OJO op. cit.*
4. This is usually spelt as : °puy.
5. This is usually spelt as : °jĕm.
6. Read : ya
7. Read : donyan (Brandes).
8. *da* (K).
9. Read : °vuanganya.
10. Skt. : duḥkha.
11. *ri* (K).
12. Elsewhere : vatu tajĕm.
13. Prof. Krom says (*Geschiedenis*, p. 185) that this 'great way' near Singasari can be no other than the royal road which ran by this place during the Majapahit period and which appear even now to be represented by the road from Malang running towards the North. See also *TAG*, 32 (1915) pp. 213-216.
14. This may refer to a *vuku* or a Javanese festivity.

LVIII

COPPER-PLATES OF PANUNGGALAN 8(1)8 ŚAKA.

These copper-plates came to the possession of the then Batavia Society in 1869 from the Government collection.[1] The inscription is incised on two plates, but the first face of pl. I goes off unwritten ; the second plate is incised on both the faces with the half of a line on the reverse. The plate measures 32x8 c.m. It is numbered E 11 at the Batavia Museum. Its find spot is unknown.

The inscription records that the *dapunta* of the cloister at Panurgalan failed to bring in arrears to the *ganti*-officer. It was found out that this omission was due to the *pamĕgat* Namvi Nārāyana, but as this officer was loved by the king who is cremated at Layang, the remission of dues was sanctioned by the reigning king, the raka of Vatu humalang in 818 śaka.

Cohen Start read the year on the inscription as 808 Śaka, but Damais[1a] corrects it to 8(1)8 Śaka, the exact date being, according to him, 15th of Sept., 896 A.D.

The transcription and facsimile of this record have been published in *KO* IX.

TEXT

1. A. Unwritten.
B. 1. svasti śakavārṣatita[2] 818 asujimāśa[3] tithi paĩcami[4] suklapakṣa[5]
vās. umanis. buddhavāra[6] tatkāla

2. ḍapunta i **kavikvan.** i panunggallan. **vatĕk. raja umāri mĕttu-**akan[7] gan**ti** tunggal. muang rangkap. **nya ndān.**[8] **manglĕpĕ**

3. takan. **pasang ya pasangnya pūrvva pirak. dhā 2 mā 8 yata ikana** lĕpĕt. pa[ir]ĕgat. irikar[ng] kāla namvi nāḍāyana sira **i**

4. kana masiḥ **n**gūni kāla nira raja[9] **i** sang lūmāḥ i **layang** matang-ng[yan.][10] tinulussakan[11] asiḥ nira vkassan.[11] **kāla haji rakai**

5. vatu humalang umadag.[12] inajar. sang tuhān. i tiruan. i turun. ni anugraḥha[13] sang [p]amĕgat. i raja i ḍapunta **i**

6. panunggalan. lavan. **sang manghitu i sang** pamĕgat. marhya(ng) kab[a]iḥ pinakasākṣè[14] manghingtu i ḍaṇu **sang raku**[15] panggḍar bulang, sang

2.A.1. ma'lisa i tĕgang rāt. sang bimala i jamvi sang nārĕ ing raja sang rakaruk. i maddhyapura sang rakadut. pagiḥ pagiḥ[16] kinabaiḥ

2. han[17] nira pirak. dhā 1 makāna **i** sar**g** tuhā[n]. i tiruan. dhā 1 māśa[17] 12 tuhān. ning [p]anayakān. ing raja rikar**g** kā

3. la sang prajval[i]ta tiruan. rikar**g** kāla **sang** sivāstra **anak** vanva i pring sungudan. rikang kāla sang bisusul. anak. **i**

4. tiruvan. ban. sair. rik[a]arg kāla sang pamasangngan anak. vanva i rayun. haruan. rikar[ng] kāla kaki anggān. anak.

5. vanva ring gda pālung ḍēnda[18] rikang kāla s[a]ng rangal. anak. vanva [ir]ng bratma[19] marhya(ng) rikang kāla [p]sang saiñja kalima rikang kāla sang

B.1. savitri parujar. rikang kāla sang ratuni variga rika'ng ?) kāla sang vurun vvaḥ.

TRANSLATION

1. A. Unwritten.

B. 1. Hail : The Śaka year expired, 803, the month of A[ga]uji,[20] fifth day of the bright half of the mouth, *vās*,[21] *umanis*,[22] Wednesday. At that time,

2. the *ḍapunta* of the cloister at Panunggallan[23] under Raja[24] ceased to bring in dues to a certain *gan*(-officer) and his *ranghap*,[25] and also failed to satisfy

3. (them) with dues, the earlier dues (i. e., arrears) of him being silver 2 *dharaṇa*[26] (and) 8 *māṣa*. Now, this was due to the omission of the *pamēgat* of that time (viz.) Namvi Nārāyana :

4. this person was erstwhile loved by the king who is cremated at Layang.[27] In consequence of this fact, the love of him was confirmed in course of time by the reigning king, the *raka* of

5. Vatu humalang,[28] (when he) was informed by the *tuhān* of the *tiruan* about the bestowal of the favour of *sang pamēgat* of Raja on the *ḍapunta* of

6. Panunggallan, 'Moreover, *sang manghitu*[29] of *sang pamēgat* (and) all the *marhya(ng)*-s stood as witnesses (thereof). The *manghi(ng)tu* of Daṇu (viz.) *sang* Raku (?), Panggḍar[30] of Bulang, *sang*

2.A.1 Malisa of Tĕgang rāt, *sang* Bimala of Jamvi, *sang* Nārĕ of Raja *sang* Rakaruk of Maddhyapura (and) *sang* Rakadut : all of them (received) altogether

2. the fixed sum of silver 1 *dharaṇa*. Dharaṇa 1 (and) *māṣa* 12 were given to *sang tuhān* of the *tiruan*. The *tuhān* of the united body of the *nāyaka*-s of Raja at this time was

3. *sang* Prajvalita ; the *tiruan* of this time was *sang* Sivāstra [30a],

resident of Pring ; the *sungudan*[29] of this time was *sang* Bisusul, son of the

4. *tiruvan* ; the *bansair*[29] of this time was *sang* Pamasangngan, resident of Rayun ; the *haruan*[29] of this time was *kaki* Anggān, resident

5. of Gḍa pēlung ; the *ḍēṇḍa*[31] of the time was *sang* Vangal, resident of Bratma ; the *marhya(ng)* of this time was *sang* Sañja ; the *kalima* of this time was *sang*

B. 1. Savitri ; the *pārujar* of this time was *sang* Ratuni ; the *variga* of this time was *sang* Vurun *vvaḥ*.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Notulen* VII, p. 13.
1a. *BEFEO* 45 (1952) p. 43.
2. C. Stuart's reading of °ṣā° is not right. The correct Skt. form should indeed be °varṣātīta.
3. Skt. : °māsa.
4. Skt. : °mī.
5. Skt. : śukla.°
6. Skt. : budha.°
7. As elsewhere, the duplication of the consonant betrays one of the special features of the record.
8. nda° ?
9. rā° ? (C. Stuart).
10. Read : °angnyan *or* °angyan.
11. Here also the consonant has been doubled.
12. Usually : °dĕg.
13. Skt : °raha.
14. Read : °sākṣī. This is example of a Javanised Skt. word.
15. °tu ?

16. Usually : pagĕh pagĕh.
17. This is usually spelt as : °sa.
18. Some times : ḍaṇḍa.
19. °hma ? (C. Stuart).
20. Āśvina.
21. A Mal. Polynesian day of the six-day week.
22. A Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.
23. A *śrī mahārāja rakai panunggalan* appears in the dynastic list of a Kĕdu-inscription. See *TBG* 67, p. 210.
24. This appears to be a place-name and not a synonym for 'king'. *cf.* lines 5 and 2 below. I am, therefore, unable to subscribe to the view of Stutterheim stated in *TBG*, 67, f.n. 52.
25. *Ganti* and *Rangkap* appear to be revenue officers.
26. 1 *dharaṇa* =2/5 *karṣa*. Regarding similar weights and measures, we read in the *Manusaṃhitā* (VIII, 134-136), "... ... three barley-corns (is equal to) one kṛṣṇala (raktikā) ; five kṛṣṇalas are one māṣa (bean) and sixteen of those one suvarṇa Four suvarṇas are one pala, and ten palas one. dharaṇa : two kṛṣṇalas (of silver) weighed together must be considered one māsaka of silver. Sixteen of those make a silver dharaṇa, or purāṇa : but know (that) a karṣa of copper is a kārṣāpaṇa or paṇa" (vide also S.B.E., vol. 25, p. 277).
27. From the bare mention of the title 'king', it is difficult to identify him and place him in a particular period Apparently he was his predecessor.
28. Most probably he has to be identified with the king of that name mentioned in the Kĕdu-inscription. *op. cit.*
29. His functions are not known.
30. *Sang* Gḍar ? The difference between *pa* and *sa* is very small in Old-Jav. records and the latter can easily pass into the former if the FS. is not sufficiently clear. *cf.* Stutterheim in *TBG*, 75, p. 449 f.n. 3.
30.a He is also met with, in his full name, under 60. 1a.5 ; 61.1; 64.1.8
31. The term may refer to a judge.

LIX

THE STONE OF PĒNAMPIHAN, 820 ŚAKA.

This stone stands on plots of lands at Pĕnampihan opposite the Vilis mountain-ranges of Kĕdiri. Impressions of this inscription are mentioned in *Notulen* 1869, Bijl. N, 1876 Bijl. II no. 31, and 1888, p. 11, and they now form no. 435 at the *Oudh. Bur.*[1] The stone measures 1·63 M. in height, 0·82 M. in breadth at the top, 0·69 below, and 0·37 M. in thickness. The inscription is greatly mutilated and the script, according to Brandes, stands between Old and New Javanese. Dr. Brandes[2] thinks that the inscription may be a later copy (c. 1400 Śaka) of an earlier record. It refers to the time of king Paliṭung of 820 Śaka.

The legible portion of this inscription has been transcribed in *OJO* where it bears no XXI. As the record has been greatly damaged, it is not possible to offer any sensible translation of the same.

TEXT

1. oṁ guvavu avigṇamastu vusyapta sa ṣakavarsatita 820
2. kartikamasa tithi pañcadeṣi śukla paksa. pa, va, vo, va
3. ra julung puṛvasta, bra sara vesikanaksatra[3] sutra dev ta mva saṇdramaṇḍa
4. la yoga tista yama paṛvesa[4] metra maha si rasiba i
5. ta, hyang sri haji ngalungtu[5] hutunggadeva kunang radyan lañamok ma
6. sira yaṇ ma samutra kunang radya mahisa lalatĕng umilangakĕn ra hyang sri ma
7. aya mamitan sinu(ng) vka makalinganya matunggu ṇḍaśunira vilis
8. inaturrakĕn pan hyang i ke hikoṇca sang hyang apa i punaṇṇiti ya kunang vna
9. ngasakar ma di suṇanti sangtaki i ko saṇipa i yanaṇṇitiya gyanya pupu
10. puḍupuḍu tna pula n avatnatagan kiḍul ing alas sakarma ngaka
11. pramana ha satriya kacaturrasarmi
12. tuvi bramasāri tu, vi gṛhasta biksuka vanaprasta kimu ta versya sudra ca
13. ṇḍala mleca yadyanana prasta la *nganarag* hasa haji taṇḍa mantri kulakula
14. tuhatuhan rajaputri makadi saṇ prabya kunang naggata yavat abar mapan mipiṇ
15. ngulahulaha ngubahana sarasa ra hyang aghḍaji prasasti salviring mangulahakĕn ta
16. ta pra upata magĕḥ ikutani syata
17. ṇte jĕ ringgit inadĕgakĕn hyang marmanya sinung kmita hyang sang hyang sagḍaji prasasti mata

18. ṇḍa bali*tung* **utungga deva** **ha** denira *k*un-

ang laṇñamon makad*i* **ra** **ṇma i samu**

19. **tra** m$_{\text{aka}}$di

The text as given above is evidently faulty, but as I have no access to the original, I have been constrained to rely on the faulty text of Brandes.

FOOTNOTES

1- Verbeek, *Oudheden*, p. 261 ; *Rapp.* 1908, p 20$_3$; *OJO*, p.25.

2. *Notulen* 26 (1888) Bijl. II, pp. X-XI^{I} ; see also *BEFEO* 45 (1951) p. 44 f.n. 1 ; 46 (1952) p. 11 f.n. 2

3. Perhaps: Vais° [K]

4. Perhaps: °Vais° [K]

5. Read: Balitung [Brandes,]